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The Shape of Things

THE MOSCOW DECISIONS OF THE BIG THREE were a bitter pill for France even though sugar-coated by an offer to hold the proposed general peace conference in Paris. But the French Cabinet after long and apparently heated deliberations decided against any outright refusal to cooperate. Instead it authorized a note to the Big Three powers making French sponsorship of the conference contingent on satisfactory answers to a number of searching questions. In the first place the French government wants to know whether the Big Five Council of Foreign Ministers which was set up at Potsdam has been permanently superseded by a council of three. With regard to the conference of active belligerents to examine peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland, information is requested as to what influence it will be allowed to exercise. Is the conference intended simply as a face-saving junket for the smaller nations? Or do the Big Three consider themselves obligated to heed its recommendations when writing the final texts of the treaties? Elucidation of the plan for a Far Eastern Commission is also desired. France feels slighted because it appears to have been relegated to a secondary position with no veto power. Apparently, however, this matter has been cleared up by informal assurances from Washington that the commission will deal only with Japan. In taking the critical position which it has done the French government evidently feels that it is acting not only in defense of its own prerogatives, particularly in the Balkans, but of those of the European nations generally. In Paris, emphasis is put on the fact that Europe's fate is being decided by three powers, none of which is strictly European. By seizing the initiative in protesting this development France hopes to do something to reestablish its prestige and advance its claim to continental leadership.

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THIS AIM, BROADLY PHRASED TO SUIT THE occasion, was the theme of President de Gaulle's address at a New Year diplomatic reception. France, he declared, would persevere in efforts to regain her place among the nations knowing "how much her greatness means to the world." Unfortunately, if not unnaturally, the French leader has always been inclined to overemphasize military strength as an ingredient of national greatness. That was one reason for the recent sharp controversy in the Constituent Assembly over army appropriations. The budget estimated army expenditure in 1946 at 125 billion francs—over $1 billion—with 42 billion francs required in the first quarter. When the Socialists asked for a 20 per cent reduction in the latter amount, de Gaulle made it a question of confidence and declared he would resign if his figure were not approved. The crisis passed, thanks to a compromise providing for an immediate 5 per cent cut and a pledge by the government to bring in proposals for army reform before February 15. But the size of the military establishment is likely to remain a burning issue in French politics. De Gaulle feels that the voice of France will not be listened to unless the country recovers its armed strength. The Socialists put greater faith in overcoming economic weakness. Up to now the claims of the army have received priority as is shown by the fact that the reconstruction budget for 1946 stands at 17 billion francs or 13.6 per cent of the military budget. The sense of values indicated by this comparison is not the best of auguries for the French renaissance we are so eager to welcome.

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EMPEROR HIROHITO'S DENIAL OF HIS OWN divinity is not a retreat under irresistible pressure but rather a strategic withdrawal to a position from which the most powerful instrument of Japan's ruling class can be more easily defended. The hardest blow leveled at Emperor-worship was the American directive ordering the end of government support for state Shintoism which has indoctrinated three generations with the belief that since the Emperor is of divine descent, Japan is entitled to rule the world. Apart from this the Emperor has suffered little in the general disillusionment with the old order. The militarists, big business and the bureaucracy have been pilloried in the press and denounced by the people. Thus far only the Communists have dared to attack Hirohito as a war criminal and demand the establishment of a republic. Although the great mass of the people have not yet turned against the Emperor, they have made clear their opposition to the other members of the oligarchy and may—if they have the support of the American authorities—unseat many of its chief representatives. Far-sighted conservatives have recognized that unless the throne is disassociated from the oligarchy, and brought much closer to the people it may eventually bear the brunt of the democratic attack which is now in preparation. A constitutional monarch in tweeds makes a much smaller target than a divine-right monarch in uniform.

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THE NATION APPLAUDS THE NOMINATION OF William H. Hastie as Governor of the Virgin Islands. If confirmed by the Senate, as he should be, Mr. Hastie will be the first Negro to serve as governor of an American territory. But the nomination is more than a gratifying recognition on the President's part of the appropriateness of placing

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the islands, with their overwhelmingly Negro population, under a Negro governor. Hastie was judge of the District Court of the Virgin Islands from 1937 to 1939—the first Negro federal judge in American history. As assistant solicitor of the Interior Department from 1934 to 1937, he became something of an expert in territorial problems. He had made a reputation as dean of the Law School at Howard University, and is regarded as one of the ablest young lawyers in the country. The people of the Virgin Islands will be getting a governor who has never been afraid to speak up for his people. Hastie demonstrated his courage and integrity on this issue in 1943 when he resigned his post as civilian aide to Secretary of War Stimson in protest against Jim Crow practices in the air corps. The President could not have picked a better man for the island governorship.

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ONE PROBLEM WHICH HAS PLAGUED THE development of television in the United States is the projection and enlargement of televised images on screens big enough to permit a number of persons to view them simultaneously. In Britain the problem was solved as long ago as 1939. The Scophony Corporation, Ltd., through a supersonic liquid valve on which it held patents, was able to project images the size of motion-picture screens. Later it prefected what is said to be an even better system of enlargement by means of a skiatron tube. In 1942 the Scophony Corporation, needing funds to exploit its devices, entered into an arrangement with two American concerns, Paramount Pictures and the General Precision Equipment Corporation, largest supplier of motion-picture equipment in this country. They formed the Scophonic Corporation of America, agreeing that it would have exclusive right to sales in the Western Hemisphere, while the Eastern Hemisphere would be reserved for the British Scophony. This was, of course, an indubitable violation of our anti-trust laws, and a civil suit against the companies involved has been brought by the Department of Justice. Perhaps of greater interest, however, is the allegation that the American participants have used their financial control to block any development of the supersonic and skiatron techniques. The patents they hold obviously represent a gold mine. But apparently they do not wish to tap it until they have exhausted the gold mine of present motion-picture projection methods, which would probably be rendered obsolete by these new developments. What was good enough for yesterday's public is good enough for today's. Technological progress seems once more to have run into the Stop sign of vested interests.

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F. H. LA GUARDIA, AFTER TWELVE YEARS AS A Mayor who was always highly articulate and sometimes noisy, often irritating but generally on the side of the angels, has become a private citizen; but he bids fair to become the most public private citizen in the country. He has announced that he is embarking on a career of "thinking, writing, and talking." He is to do a weekly column for PM, and he will broadcast twice on Sundays. One of his sponsors is *Liberty* magazine, the other is a dairy-products company which, as the newspapers were careful to point out, distributes Blue

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Moon cheese. He has signed a contract to write an autobiography "for the Christmas, 1947, trade," as he engagingly put it. And finally he will write another weekly column which should keep him in the hot water he seems to find so stimulating. It is to be called Under the Hat, and it will appear in the paid advertising of Sachs Quality Stores every Thursday—and therefore in papers that will find it anything but agreeable. This last is La Guardia's pet project, and we can't blame him for taking a mischievous pleasure in getting what he calls "my stuff" into such papers as the *Journal American*. Under the Hat has already begun, and the first installment was devoted to freedom of the press, which La Guardia proposes to exercise. In it he said among other things that "freedom of the press becomes a mockery unless it is a truthful press," and paid his respects to misleading headlines. But he also paid his respects to censorship—"better a bad uncensored press than a subservient, intimidated, government-controlled press." We wish him well; and we are sure the Newspaper Guild, which he plans to join, will find him a live member. As for his successor in City Hall, William O'Dwyer, whose inauguration was attended by such Tammany luminaries as Edward J. Loughlin and Generoso Pope, we can only hope that he is not turning over an old leaf.

*

CHRISTMAS PROVIDED A PLEASANT ESCAPE FROM reality for a good many of us. Wars and famine and insurrection in various parts of the world were forgotten. The Moscow agreement was the excuse for postponing our worries and sidestepping our fears. As a healthy reminder of the actual present, we would recommend Dr. Harold J. Urey's article on the atomic bomb in *Collier's* of January 5. Title: "I'm a Frightened Man."

" CONSCRIPTION, SERVICE UNIFICATION, REGIMENTATION, AND — — — — "
HIROSHIMA
NAGASAKI
" AS I WAS SAYING, WHEN RUDELY INTERRUPTED, CONSCRIPTION, SERVICE UNIFICATION, REGIMENTATION, AND — —

Sweigert in the San Francisco Chronicle

Admiral on Horseback

ADMIRAL Horthy, former Regent of Hungary, has been released from "protective custody" in Nürnberg where he had been held as a possible witness for the prosecution. He has been allowed to retire to a country estate near Munich which Hitler presented to him in 1944 because, as the Nazi press pointed out, he had "rendered great services to National Socialism." Those services had almost slipped into oblivion but Dr. Ries, the present Hungarian Minister of Justice, has refreshed our memory by recalling in a recent article the unpunished "crimes against humanity" committed by the Hungarian counter-revolution and its leader Horthy, which provided the model both for Fascism and Nazism. It was no thunderbolt from a blue sky which struck Hungary when the Nazi forces occupied the country in March, 1944; it was only the final step in the systematic progress toward national suicide begun in 1919 when the Admiral rode on his white charger into "guilty" Budapest encouraging and ordering the white terror. The atrocities that followed were fully exposed in several issues of *The Nation* in 1920 and further investigated and reported upon by a British Labor delegation in 1921. It was under Horthy's leadership, too, that Hungary signed the anti-Comintern Pact in February, 1939, and in September, 1940, joined the Axis—a term, by the way, coined by Horthy's favorite, Premier Goemboes.

At the Nürnberg trial, the prosecution produced the files of the Reich Chancellery from which it appeared that in May, 1938, Hitler disclosed his future plans to the Admiral, remarking at the same time that although he did not need Hungarian help, if Hungary wanted to share the meal it would have to participate in its preparation. Horthy's letter to Hitler, offering to create if necessary an "incident" on the Czechoslovak frontier which would justify the German attack on the Czech republic, was also read at the trial. Munich made the "incident" unnecessary, but the self-appointed jackal nevertheless shared in the loot. As a consequence of the Vienna Award which authorized the Admiral to ride into Kosice and Cluj, Hungary had to take part in the shameless attack on Yugoslavia in April, 1941, and to declare war against Russia in June, and Great Britain and the United States the following December. All this was done in defense of "Christian" (meaning Nazi) civilization. The brave Admiral certainly deserved the Iron Cross first class which the Führer personally pinned on his warrior chest when he visited the Russian front.

Now he has been released from the Nürnberg jail, where he enjoyed the company of his former Nazi comrades-in-arms; the authorities, it is reported, said there were "no charges against him." Obviously not, because those same authorities did not make any charges. Why? The reason is obvious. Horthy was a fascist snatched from the burning; he turned his coat just in time to save his skin. And so, by the grace of the Allied prosecutors and the late Führer, he will be permitted to find undisturbed repose in the charming Bavarian countryside. Unhappily, some hundred thousand Hungarian soldiers met a different end; they repose instead, under the hard Russian earth at Voronezh.

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Truman and the People

MR. TRUMAN'S radio appeal to the "plain people" must be seen in political perspective. Neither Mr. Truman nor any other Democratic candidate can be elected in 1948 without the support of organized labor and the Northern Negro. To get that support Mr. Truman must carry on the New Deal program. Unfortunately the Democrats are more often a coalition than a genuine party. The coalition holds together for the election of a President but falls apart when faced with social reform and general welfare legislation. Hence Mr. Truman's troubles with Congress. Franklin D. Roosevelt, for all his glamour, was able to do very little with Congress after the depression demands of farmers had been satisfied in the early New Deal and after the Little Steel strike and returning prosperity had cured depression-born middle-class desire for reform. Politically, the war saved Mr. Roosevelt, and politically peace may be the ruin of Mr. Truman.

Mr. Truman, echoing basic Democratic faith in *vox populi,* is appealing to the "plain people" to help him get necessary legislation past stubbornly hostile Congressional committees. He wants popular pressure for passage of bills to extend price and materials control. He wants help on full-employment legislation, on a permanent FEPC, on higher minimum wages, on decent jobless compensation, and on his proposal for a cooling-off period for fact-finding in labor disputes. It is necessary to go beyond Democratic mysticism and ask who are the "plain people" to whom he is appealing. On the answer depends the likelihood of his success.

On many of these issues a good many of the "plain people" are against the President The FEPC is a special case perhaps; here the Coxes and Smiths certainly have the approval of most of the "plain people" of the white South in blocking FEPC legislation. But there are broader issues also on which mere vague appeal to the "plain people" is apt to be ineffective. The farmer, for example, reacts much as does the businessman to price controls, higher minimum wages, better unemployment compensation. The farmer thinks in terms of his hired hand, and wants no legislation that will tend to raise wages. On price control he thinks as an individualistic producer and not as a consumer; the chance of getting more in a scramble for higher prices on what he sells means more to him than keeping steady the prices of the things he buys. As for full-employment legislation, the middle class and the employers are suspicious; the farmer is indifferent or instinctively hostile.

It will take a lot of grass-roots education and agitation to roll up enough popular pressure for these measures. There are "plain people" who can be mobilized. There are millions in the North who are against racial discrimination, but as yet much too vaguely to count politically. There is a consumer interest. There are farmers, as there are businessmen, capable of taking a broader view than narrow class interest. But somebody must care enough to ring their doorbells and grasp their coat lapels. Only the working class is wholeheartedly for these measures, and the P. A. C. is its only organization for grass-roots agitation. Without P. A. C. this program cannot be put over.

Unfortunately Mr. Truman's appeal for fact-finding and a cooling-off period not only is opposed by the big employers but has split labor from the Administration. Part of the reason lies in Mr. Truman's own gauche handling of labor leaders and of the General Motors strike. Part of it arises from the painful experiences labor underwent during the war waiting for the War Labor Board to find the facts in labor disputes before it. Labor fears bureaucratic delays and employer litigation of issues raised in fact-finding and sees no assurance of employer compliance even after the facts are found and the recommendations made. Labor leaders feel so deeply on this issue that Mr. Truman finds himself at loggerheads with the only group which can possibly put over his legislative program—the legislative program which may well mean the difference between defeat and victory in 1948. The President does have this slight comfort, that labor has every bit as much to gain as he does by a reconciliation. Sooner or later labor leaders must realize this, if indeed they have not already done so. For divided, neither the President nor the labor movement stands a chance in Congress.

It is not enough to appeal to the "plain people." It is necessary to lead them. There are millions of political ciphers who need to have brought home to them the meaning of race discrimination, price control, higher wage standards, full employment, millions who are neither employers nor racially biased. They cannot be reached by the kind of formal and bloodless indorsement Mr. Truman is accustomed to give on these issues. He not only shows no capacity to dramatize and illuminate these issues; he seems to understand them imperfectly himself. The White House has floundered on price control, housing, taxes, and wages in managing the executive branch of the government. It has been weak in dealing with the legislative branch on many of the bills the President now submits to the "plain people." Thus Mr. Truman failed miserably to support progressive elements in the House last month for a showdown fight on the full-employment issue. Many people have lost faith in him because he says the right thing but fails to do much about it.

Mr. Truman needs and deserves grass-roots support on his general program, but he also needs better advisers than the little clique of mediocre men who surround him. This is true in the case of housing; Mr. Truman's feeble rhetoric on this topic seemed to reflect a complete lack of any concrete program. It is especially true on labor, where again Mr. Truman seems to have failed to grasp the problem, much less to solve it. He believes that if the facts are found, "public opinion" will make itself felt "in a practical way." But facts are only a small part of the picture. The crucial questions come up in the sphere of policy, not fact. The level of wages must rise if we are to have full employment and make use of war-expanded productive capacity. There would be much less resistance to the wage increases if government were prepared, by leadership and planning, to insure the higher levels of economic activity which would make it easy to pay the higher wages. The framework of the problem is America's expanded capacity to produce, and it is in this framework alone that an economically sound and politically statesman-like program can be evolved. But who in the White House today thinks in such terms?

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The Palestine Inquiry

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

BRITISH intentions in Palestine cannot be simplified to a pattern of unrepentant imperialism or disinterested generosity. They are complicated, often self-contradictory; affected by intrigues and promises and antagonisms long antedating the present difficulties. It is to be hoped that the members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine beginning work this week in Washington will tackle their assignment with a live sense of history: otherwise the time spent will be total waste.

Even the committee is a product of mixed motives, but it was invented by the British principally as a device first, to delay the inevitable showdown in Palestine and, second, to involve the United States in whatever decision is ultimately arrived at. One cannot blame the British government for asking this country to hold one edge of a bag packed with TNT, especially since in the past we have offered so much free advice on the proper way of handling it; one can only say that the United States, in accepting this responsibility, should demonstrate a degree of courage and objectivity which the British government is obviously unable to attain. Our representatives on the Committee of Inquiry must not allow themselves to be stampeded into hasty decisions by the echo of exploding bombs in the streets of Jaffa or by rumors of Jewish plots opportunely launched by a British general operating off-bounds. Bombs and canards are ephemeral if nasty symptoms of a deep trouble. The job of the committee, and the absolute obligation of the American members, is to go to the roots of that trouble. Indeed, that is the only excuse for its existence in 1946.

I am not suggesting that the committee should confine itself to exhuming the past. What is going on in Europe today is an integral part of the study. For the chilling horrors of Nazi rule and their present backwash in Poland and Slovakia and in the detention camps of Germany provide dramatic evidence of the condition that brought Zionism into being and made the British promise of a Jewish National Home the focus of hope for oppressed Jews everywhere. That any Zionist organizations in Poland managed to survive the Nazi extermination policy and muster enough resources to give a little training and material help to Jews who want to go to Palestine—this seems to be the only factual basis of the "plot" revealed the other day by General Morgan—is one of the most encouraging and valiant manifestations of human resilience I have heard about. The Committee of Inquiry will be expected to look beyond the difficulties of relief agencies in Europe and examine the profound economic, political and emotional factors that make such "plots" inevitable. The committee will learn—I say this confidently on the basis of overwhelming evidence already reported—that a great majority of Europe's Jewish displaced persons want to go to Palestine. Its further duty is to find out why.

The work of the committee is sure to be hampered by the British government's weak and shifting maneuvers in regard to Palestine immigration. First it shut off, for the duration of the inquiry, even the trickle of immigration previously allowed. Then under pressure of violence in Palestine and indignation throughout the world, it requested the "Palestine Arab Higher Committee" to "permit" the "interim" admission of 1,500 Jewish refugees a month as "a humanitarian gesture." What sort of policy is this? Has the Mandate already been abrogated? Are the Arabs from now on to have the final say on Jewish immigration questions? If so, then certainly the committee can fold up and go home. If not, it had better demand that the British government make one more shift and rescind both previous moves in order that the inquiry may proceed in an atmosphere as free from suspicion and bitterness as circumstances permit. The granting of 1,500 certificates amounts to very little in practical terms; symbolically it is of great importance.

For it is linked with the whole process of British fumbling which must be reexamined by the Committee of Inquiry: the curious fluctuations of Foreign Office and Colonial Office policy, sometimes working together, sometimes one against the other, sometimes encouraging Jewish settlement as a bulwark of British interest in the Middle East, sometimes—and consistently as the war approached—shifting toward the support of Arab claims until the obligations to the Jews, assumed under the mandate, were completely and cynically abandoned in 1939. What caused Britain—and at what moment did it happen?—to decide that its position would be better secured if the French were forced out of Syria and the Jews restricted to a static minority in Palestine? What convinced it that an Arab League, run by fanatic if mutually suspicious Moslem leaders, would be a safer ally? Did the Tory government fear the leavening effect of Jewish enlightenment and social ferment in the vast lump of Arab misery and ignorance? The record opens an immense range of questions which the committee will have to answer if its conclusions are to be of use.

I suggest that its best course will be to ignore the ready-made conclusions provided by Mr. Bevin when the committee was announced. It can take as its premises the text of the Balfour Declaration, the provisions of the Palestine Mandate, the handful of official interpretations of those pledges put out of responsible British and American statesmen. With these as a starting-point it can consider what specific political arrangements in Palestine will best serve needs of all groups concerned. The Jewish National Home, in itself, is not an issue; even Bevin admitted that. The issues lie in the numbers of Jews to be admitted to Palestine; the rate at which they are to be allowed in; the kind of control that should be set up to insure the permanent development of Jewish institutions free from the danger of Arab attack, physical or political; the protection of Arab rights; and the adjustment of great-power interests to one another and to the interests of the people of the country.

This set of problems should be enough for the inquiry to solve. Since the United States has no commitments beyond its single reiterated pledge to support the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, and no interests except a relatively modest amount of Arabian oil, the American members are in a position to exhibit a decency and humanity—a broad disinterestedness—which are seldom compatible with old, crusted political and material investment. We look confidently to them to do so.

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Gangsters or Patriots?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 5

ON DECEMBER 26 it became known in Jerusalem that the British government had reneged on its promise to grant 1,500 certificates a month to Jewish immigrants while an Anglo-American committee investigated the Palestine problem. On the following night there were explosions in British offices in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and Jerusalem. The target in Jerusalem was the headquarters of the Criminal Investigation Division of the Palestine government. Deputy Inspector General Giles, who is detested by the Jewish community, narrowly escaped with his life. "This," he was quoted as saying by Gene Currivan, Jerusalem correspondent of the New York *Times*, "is the work of our friends, the Haganah." The remark had a fine detective-story flavor.

It also had the flavor of an attempt to smear the Haganah, the self-defense organization of Palestinian Jewry, and to identify it with irresponsible terrorist groups. Currivan lent himself to this effort. His dispatches described the Haganah as "vigilante" in origin and as "an underground gangster group . . . which prides itself on its conservative terrorism," whatever that is. This is typical of the unfair treatment the Jewish-owned New York *Times* has given both Palestinian and Polish Jewry in recent weeks. The British Colonial Office could have no more loyal journalistic ally. When a group of correspondents, recently in Palestine, including Frank Gervasi of *Collier's*, Gerald Frank, and myself, protested against Currivan's attempt to link the Haganah with terrorism, a curious kind of correction was elicited.

In its issue of January 4 the *Times* ran a Currivan dispatch from Jerusalem headed, "Two Zionist Groups Boast of Bombing. Claim for 'Credit' by Sternists and Irgun Zvai Leumi Gives Haganah Clean Bill of Health." The Irgun and the Sternists are not Zionists but offshoots of the Revisionist movement; that bit of distortion was added by the copy desk of the *Times* in writing the headline. Currivan wrote of a joint communiqué in which these two terrorist groups had boasted of the bombings. "If the communiqué can be accepted as actually emanating from these groups," Currivan grudgingly admitted, "it leaves Haganah in the clear and corroborates this third underground organization's recent protestations." The net effect of the slanderous headline and the obscure "correction" on the ordinary reader must have been to deepen the impression that Palestine was a place infested with Zionist gangsters.

What is the truth about the Haganah? The name is a Hebrew word meaning "defense." It was first applied to small groups formed in Russia after 1905 to defend Jews against *pogromchiks*. The idea was taken to Palestine by Russian Jewish immigrants before the First World War. There, as in the rest of the Ottoman Empire, law and order were rare. Bedouins raided one another and the Jewish settlements. The newer immigrants declared they had not come to Palestine to be at the mercy of hooligans again. They formed an organization called Hashomer—The Watchman. David Ben-Gurion, now chairman of the executive of the Jewish Agency, and Isaac Ben Zwi, now president of the Vaad Leumi, the Jewish National Council of Palestine, were in the initial group. This was the forerunner of the Haganah.

The Shomrim (members of Hashomer) were not vigilantes. They began as armed guards for the settlements and were recognized as such by the Turkish authorities. They pioneered the settling of wild country and sought, like the Cossacks, to establish agricultural-warrior colonies on the frontier. They became a kind of élite.

This conception of the Shomrim had dangers which became apparent toward the close of the First World War. It was feared that they might develop into an arrogant, policy-making armed faction able to impose its will on the community. A group of Shomrim led by the late Eliahu Golomb succeeded in bringing about the disbanding of the organization and the formation of the Haganah. The basic idea of the Haganah was that defense should not be in the hands of a picked few but that every able-bodied Jew should be trained in the use of arms and enrolled in the Haganah. Hashomer was an élite guard; Haganah was a democratic militia. The Shomrim under Golomb and returning veterans who had served in the Jewish Legion under Allenby formed the nucleus of the new organization.

The Haganah took on a more solid and systematic form after the massacres of 1929, when some two hundred Jews were killed in Hebron and Safad. The massacres occurred a few weeks after the British authorities had withdrawn all licenses for the possession of shotguns in Jewish settlements. Where the Jews had illegal arms, they successfully fought off attack. Where they had none, they were slaughtered. The Jewish community felt that it could no longer rely on the British authorities for protection and took steps to speed up training and the acquisition of illegal arms. The wisdom of that policy was demonstrated in the Arab rebellion from 1936 to 1939. There were attacks on Jewish settlements and Jews were killed, but even in the most isolated areas there were no pogroms, and there will be none unless the British succeed in smashing the Haganah.

During the Arab rebellion there was unofficial cooperation between the British authorities and the Haganah. Every British battalion had a Jewish "interpreter" whose real function was to act as liaison with the Haganah. Finally, rather than deal with an illegal organization, the British deputized some 16,000 Haganah members as "supernumerary police" and issued 6,000 rifles to them (more men than guns because they work in shifts). These rifles are still in use in Palestine. Service as a supernumerary policeman is taken into account in figuring what we would call demobilization "points" for Palestinian Jews in the British army. Thus the Haganah achieved a kind of backdoor recognition.

This unofficial cooperation was taken a step farther by a young British lieutenant in the Sudan Frontier Force who

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was transferred to intelligence duty in Palestine in 1936. His name was Charles Orde Wingate, and he was later to lose his life in Burma. Wingate's first raiders were the squads of Haganah-trained men he organized to protect the oil pipe-lines from Arab saboteurs. Wingate, a non-Jew, became a Zionist in Palestine, and though his views were frowned upon by his superiors they found themselves forced to adopt his tactics during the Second World War. In the gloomy months before El Alamein British headquarters in Cairo in unofficial conjunction with Haganah leaders prepared "post-occupation" plans for Palestine. Secret methods of communication were worked out to keep British authorities in touch with Jewish guerrilla forces if the Axis should succeed in taking Palestine. The Palestine civil administration was disapproving, and the Cairo military authorities would never admit they were dealing with the Haganah, but as one British officer said, "If you're dealing with a self-respecting young Jew you must take it for granted that he belongs to the Haganah."

The Irgun, the military arm of the Revisionists, are what the Shomrim might have become, quasi-fascist terrorists; they number some five or six thousand. The Sternists, who split off from the Irgun at the beginning of the war, number about five hundred men; they wanted to fight Britain by terror even though Britain was fighting Hitler. But the Haganah is the People's Army of Palestinian Jewry. It is prepared to fight the British authorities to bring in so-called illegal immigrants and to settle on forbidden land in defiance of the White Paper. It has embarked on a small-scale war of strictly limited objectives against British rule, and the Yishuv is prepared to back it up with a mass civil-disobedience campaign, Indian style. But the Haganah is not terrorist. It is not irresponsible. It is a disciplined military organization. Its leaders are bitterly critical of the Jerusalem bombings. These provide the British with an excuse for more stringent measures against illegal immigration and hurt Jewry with world opinion. The Haganah are no more gangsters than were the men of Concord or Lexington.

This Is Your Fight!

BY WALTER P. REUTHER

Vice-President of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. and director of its General Motors department

Detroit, January 3

IN THE confusion of peace, much of it carefully planned, we are in danger of losing the clear view of post-war needs which we had during the war. Administrative agencies, Congressional post-war planning committees, and business groups such as the Committee for Economic Development were generally agreed during the war that after the war we must produce and consume at least 50 per cent more than we did in pre-war days to avoid a return to chronic mass unemployment. They were agreed that a return to pre-war levels of production—and consumption—would mean nineteen million unemployed.

This conviction was expressed in the Department of Commerce study "Markets After the War," which became the bible of the C. E. D. It was reiterated by Senators James E. Murray and Harry S. Truman in the 1944 year-end report of their War Contracts Committee, in which they proposed a bill to insure full employment. Last July Fred Vinson, then Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, put it this way: "We are in the pleasant predicament of having to learn to live 50 per cent better than we have ever lived before." In August, before V-J Day, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System published Post-War Economic Study No. 1, "Jobs, Production, and Living Standards," in which these statements were made:

> We shall have an opportunity of living better than we ever have in the past, but only if we so manage our economy as to provide markets for a much larger total product than we have ever had in peace time.
>
> Purchases of all classes of goods and services could and should expand greatly. A rise of 40 or 50 per cent above pre-war levels in consumption goods will be possible and necessary. This would mean that people would buy many more cars than they did during the 1930's, many more ice-boxes, and several times the amount of some other goods and services. . . . Resources will be available for this rise in national well-being, but it will require a well-planned and vigorous national public and private business policy to realize this unequaled opportunity.
>
> We must not accept the miserable alternative of having our products piling up as surpluses for lack of markets and have their output shrink in consequence. We must not suffer our wealth to be the cause of our poverty, or permit the abundance of our resources to be the basis of our want. . . .
>
> If there is to be a market for the goods and services that will be produced if employment is to be maintained, the nation's income must not be permitted to decline materially.

Four days after V-J Day President Truman announced the national reconversion wage-price policy: free collective bargaining between workers and employers was to be restored, and wage increases were to be approved up to the point where price increases would result.

On the same day, August 18, the United Automobile Workers of the C. I. O. filed with the General Motors Corporation a demand for a 30 per cent increase in hourly wage rates without price increases, asserting that this increase was needed to make up for the loss in take-home pay resulting from abolition of overtime and downgrading in jobs. We said that such an increase in wage rates was directly in the national interest as stated over and over again during the war, that it was in line with the national wage-price policy, that it was necessary to maintain purchasing power during reconversion. We pointed out that to make progress toward a standard of living 50 per cent better than we had ever known

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it was first necessary to hold our ground, to stay where we were, economically, when the war ended.

It seemed to us that the way to begin was to begin. It was only fair to call upon the General Motors Corporation, the most profitable corporation in the most profitable industry, to lead the way. We were convinced that past earnings, the certain market for capacity production for at least three years, and the lower unit costs of a volume 50 per cent above pre-war days made it possible for the automotive industry generally—and General Motors most conspicuously—to pay 30 per cent higher wage rates without increasing prices, and at the same time to pay dividends higher than the high pre-war rates.

However, our demand was never "30 per cent, or else!" as some editors, politicians, and propagandists have charged. From August 18 up to now we have offered to scale down our demand by whatever amount was proved necessary to prevent an increase in prices. But we said that until and unless G. M. proved it could not pay 30 per cent, we would not reduce our demand by one red cent.

On October 2 G. M. turned down our demand as "unreasonable." No counter-proposal was made.

In dismissing our demand as "unreasonable" and in arguing in page advertisements that higher wages meant higher costs and higher prices—suppressing the basic production fact that 50 per cent greater volume will mean lower unit costs—General Motors was, in our view, pleading inability to pay higher wage rates.

On October 19 we began presentation of an economic brief in support of our demand. We addressed ourselves to the question of G. M.'s ability to pay. We invited, urged, and begged the G. M. representatives to discuss our facts, figures, and arguments as presented. They refused. They said, "Go ahead, and when you're all through, we'll make our answer." We read our case to the soles of their shoes perched on the edge of the negotiating table, and to the back of *Liberty*, which they said was "more interesting than the crap you [the union] are giving us."

When our case was all in, on October 26, Harry Anderson, vice-president of G. M., said they would answer us in ten days. That was at five o'clock in the afternoon. Three hours later, on a nation-wide radio network, he gave G. M.'s answer —a flat rejection.

In the course of the so-called negotiations G. M. shifted its ground from inability to pay to a refusal to discuss the corporation's ability to pay. In our view the change was made because G. M. knows that the arithmetic of our case is taken from its own reports and published government sources, is confirmed by facts hidden in the corporation's books, and is incontrovertible. This was made plain when G. M. made its formal answer to our brief on November 7. G. M. offered the union a wage increase of 10 cents an hour —subsequently increased to 13½ cents—hitched to the right later to use the increase in applying to the OPA for higher prices. (When we asked if G. M. would offer even a 1 per cent wage increase without a price increase, the answer was no.) In addition, G. M. renewed its proposal that the union join the corporation in petitioning Congress to amend the wage-hour act to raise the normal work week from forty to forty-five hours.

The U. A. W.-C. I. O. could have settled this wage dispute long ago, without resort to a strike, if the General Motors workers had been willing to join the General Motors management in a double conspiracy—against American consumers clamoring for eighteen million cars, and against millions of returning veterans and laid-off war workers, including more than one hundred thousand former G. M. workers with seniority rights. We could have agreed to take a wage increase and have kept quiet about price increases which, spreading out from automobiles in spiraling inflation, would have taken fifteen cents or more out of one pocket for every dime put in the other in high wages. We could have joined the corporation in ganging up on Congress to legalize a longer normal work week at a time when unemployment of between six and nine million is predicted. We could have drawn down on the head of labor the whole blame for the rising pressures of inflation and its disastrous results. We could have focused on labor the justified resentment of millions of unemployed veterans and laid-off war workers. We could have drunk the cup of pure economic poison which the G. M. management poured out and enticingly set before us on the negotiating table day after day.

Instead, faced with the deliberate, contemptuous, and provocative refusal of G. M. to bargain collectively in good faith by discussing the ability to pay, and having vainly offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, the G. M. workers on November 21 went on strike to obtain the demands presented on August 18. The strike, with an appeal to the opinion and judgment of the American people, was their only remaining economic weapon.

Today, with the strike in its second month, and with the G. M. attitude being copied by other employers across the whole country, General Motors workers and their families are the front-line troops in a home-front war to win the very peace that, only five months ago, it was generally agreed we must have if the war aims of the Four Freedoms were to be more than a sour phrase on the lips of apple-selling veterans of World War II. On G. M. picket lines and in U. A. W.-C. I. O. union halls and soup kitchens in a hundred American towns and cities the eyes of G. M. strikers see the post-war needs of this nation as clearly now as when they were stated before V-J Day by our business and political leaders.

They are exercising the right of free collective bargaining. One of these days the G. M. management will agree to move the bargaining back from the picket lines to the conference room and to write a contract with the U. A. W.-C. I. O. which will maintain the purchasing power of G. M. and other workers, including the farmers and business men from whom those workers in years to come will buy more or less, depending on the wages they receive.

Until that day, the strike of the G. M. workers is the fight of all Americans who want a lasting peace of full production, full consumption, and full employment, year in and year out, spreading beyond the United States, by example, not by conquest, to the rest of this fevered and unhappy world.

The Union for Democratic Action will hold an open meeting to discuss the General Motors-Automobile Workers' dispute at the Hunter College Auditorium in New York on January 15 at 8 p. m. Mr. Reuther will speak.

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Stamford Sticks Together

BY J. MITCHELL MORSE

Formerly on the editorial staff of The Nation

Stamford, Connecticut, December 3

WHAT the New York press had described in advance as a "general strike" that would "tie up" this city of 65,000 and make it a "ghost town" for an indefinite length of time turned out to be a two-hour parade and rally in front of the Town Hall. It was a demonstration, by some 10,000 members of 56 A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions in Stamford and nearby towns, of solidarity with the 3,000 striking workers of the Yale and Towne lock company's local plant. One union official called it "an extended lunch-hour." As a demonstration it was a great success. There were two lusty brass bands and a kilted bagpiper; half a dozen union leaders made short, fiery pep talks; and the 10,000 cheered and laughed and sang. The atmosphere was more like that of a carnival than of an industrial battle. When I arrived in Stamford at 7:30 this morning men in overalls and leather coats and hunting caps and women in slacks and leather coats and kerchiefs, carrying lunchboxes and thermos bottles, were going to work as usual; the demonstration began at noon; by 2:30 it was all over, and most of the workers went back to their jobs. The movies opened at 3.

The immediate cause of the demonstration was Governor Baldwin's sending state troopers to break up the picket line around the Yale and Towne plant a week ago, but there were two other more fundamental causes. One was a feeling among the workers which was put into words this morning by Donald Martin, chief steward of Lodge 1887, International Association of Machinists, A. F. of L., a brass-cutter at the Schick razor plant here. "The people in little locals like ours," he told me, "know that if Yale and Towne licks the union we're all sunk." The other cause was an intense personal hatred of W. Gibson Carey, Jr., president of Yale and Towne, not only by his employees and labor generally but by everyone I spoke to in Stamford. A business man in a restaurant looked up from his copy of the New York *Daily News,* saw me watching him, smiled, and said, without preliminaries, "Christ, they can do a lot of damage. You know what I mean, like if they cut off the electricity, see? Jeez, I wish they'd get it settled. It don't affect me, but hell, I like to see things settled. You got to admit, though, Carey is a son of a bitch." That last sentiment was echoed in one form and another all day. The chief complaints against Carey seem to be that he has kept other industries out of Stamford and that in the past, when he employed more than 50 per cent of the population, he ran the city as if it were a department of his plant. About half the stores have in their windows signs that read, "We are in the fight with you workers of Yale and Towne."

The state troopers returned today to guard the plant as negotiations were resumed, at Governor Baldwin's behest, between management and Lodges 339 and 1557 of the International Association of Machinists. Connecticut has only 150 troopers; 15 of them were outside the plant this morning, rather shamefacedly watching the half-dozen middle-aged men and women strikers standing around a little charcoal stove at each gate. There was no effort to keep anyone from going into the plant, but the only people inside were a few foremen and superintendents playing cards in their overcoats. They didn't seem to be enjoying themselves very much. They greeted me with glum resentment. It was colder in the plant than outside.

During the recess in the negotiations I went with two shop stewards to the home of one of the striking workers. He has nine children, aged fifteen years to fifteen months, and a tenth is on the way, and he hasn't worked for nine weeks. The union strike-benefit fund pays him $10 a week, and now and then he gets an odd job and makes a couple of dollars. He has no other income. He is a skilled tool-setter, whose basic pay was $1.245 an hour. During the war he worked sixty hours a week and earned about $85, but various deductions cut it down to $72. Since the war, for a forty-hour week his take-home pay had been $38.

The negotiations were held in public, in the city courtroom. That was management's idea. Jerome Y. Sturm, attorney for the union, had protested that the presence of an audience would not conduce to candor on either side and would hinder the reaching of a settlement. Having lost this point, however, he made the best of the situation. He made much better of it than Weldon P. Monson, the company's attorney.

The essential points at issue were, as Sturm said, money and union security. The union asked a 30 per cent increase in basic wage rates and a general increase of 17 cents an hour to offset partially the post-war decline in take-home pay; a two-week annual vacation after five years' service; six holidays a year; a closed shop and a maintenance-of-membership clause. Sturm announced a willingness to compromise on all points, but Monson flatly rejected everything but the wage increase. On that he made a counter-proposal: basic wage rates would remain unchanged, but if employees worked forty-five hours a week the company would see that they got a 14 per cent increase in take-home pay. He admitted under persistent questioning that the company couldn't guarantee forty-five or even forty hours a week. Sturm rejected the counter-proposal. "You knew it would be unacceptable," he said. "The company doesn't want to reach an agreement. You're just a stooge. Carey is trying to starve the workers out. He is acting as the spearhead of a group here who think this is a propitious time to break unions."

Monson took up more than half of the morning session with a rambling history of the negotiations since 1940. He looked at Sturm most of the time, but Sturm presented his left profile and looked bored. Everybody was bored. Mayor Charles E. Moore was moved to say to Monson, "You're making a summation. When are you going to start negotiating?"

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"You've been intimidated by the union," Monson blandly replied.

"The only people who have tried to intimidate me," shouted the Mayor, "are Yale and Towne, because I wouldn't send police to crack skulls on the picket line. But I've stood right up and said, 'To hell with you!' " There was a roaring cheer, and a few minutes later the first brass band passed beneath the windows.

At the afternoon session Monson was flanked by two company accountants bearing charts which they held up before the audience but which were too small and too faintly drawn to read. They didn't help Monson. Nothing could have saved him from Sturm's magnificent attack. He could not answer Sturm's questions, and his own were so silly that the audience laughed at him almost continuously. He grew red and flustered. It is almost incredible that the legal representative of a large corporation should be so slow on the uptake. Sturm beat his ears off.

Nevertheless, the result was a victory for the company, for no agreement was reached. It was obvious that that was Monson's purpose. With his arguments all blown up and with a horribly embarrassed expression on his face, he still said "No" to everything. He floundered miserably, smiled sheepishly, and said "No." He seemed not to have been authorized to say anything else.

However, his argument read smoothly enough in this afternoon's Stamford *Advocate*. The direct quotations were excerpts from an advance press release written and handed out by Milton M. Enzer, the company's public-relations man, who is said to make $300 a week. I don't doubt that he is worth it. He writes well.

An effort to salvage the situation was made by William Gaston, a conciliator of the United States Department of Labor, who announced that he had a compromise plan and would like to discuss it privately with representatives of both sides. "If the company rejects it, it will be because they want to bust the union," he said. The company rejected it.

Philippine Aftermath

BY MILDRED ADAMS

Journalist and critic; until recently head of the Post-War Division of the Columbia Broadcasting System

I. The Menace of Freedom

PAUL McNUTT, who resigned as High Commissioner to the Philippines in 1939, has gone back there. He has returned to a situation several diameters worse than the one he left—and his final report to President Roosevelt revealed plenty of trouble even then. The problems he listed have not been solved in the interim. Instead, they have been vastly complicated by the physical destruction and the social disintegration caused by war and enemy occupation. When he left, he saw ahead a cushion of seven years—in which progress might be made, with American help—before the Filipinos would be left to carry their own burdens. Now he sees only six months.

Just how serious Washington considers the immediate situation can be surmised from the carefully worded analysis introducing President Truman's directives. Reference is made to the agragrian unrest which has been described in previous *Nation* columns:

> In the provinces near Manila thousands of share-croppers organized some years ago to demand a more equitable division of the product of their labor. For several years there was no effective solution of the problem. During the war the tenants organized a guerrilla army which reportedly did good work against the enemy. After the enemy was defeated in their localities, they did not disband, and today they constitute a special problem which threatens the stability of government. On the other hand [the President cautions], their legitimate claim to fair treatment and the assistance they rendered in resistance to the enemy require that they not be dealt with in a ruthless manner.

The President wants more speed in the investigation, trial, and punishment of collaborators, for "disloyalty to the Commonwealth is equally disloyalty to the United States." Therefore he informs the Attorney General:

> While the mass of the Filipino people and many of their leaders remained staunchly loyal during invasion and rendered invaluable assistance to our arms, it is necessary to admit that many persons served the puppet government sponsored by the enemy. . . . Reports have appeared in the press which indicate that a number of persons who gave aid and comfort to the enemy are now holding important offices in the Commonwealth government. Reports further indicate that the Commonwealth government is only beginning to investigate, charge, and try the offenders. It is essential that this task be completed before the holding of the next Commonwealth general election.

Law-enforcement agencies are seriously disorganized, and the famous Philippine constabulary needs help in reforming its ranks and rebuilding its morale. Emergency American currency is further upsetting the disorganized economy and must be redeemed as soon as possible. The Japanese occupation peso, declared not legal tender at the time we landed on Leyte, continued to be used in certain sections, and many contracts depend on its declining value. (In numerous instances, though President Truman does not say so, this worthless currency was used for land purchases, and agrarian unrest is intensified by the fact that the deeds are now thrown into question.) There is a tremendous relief and rehabilitation problem. Ships are needed, and banking aid, and a regular flow of consumer goods. The chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been requested "to direct

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the United States Commercial Company to use resources and personnel within its jurisdiction to continue and to advance the Philippine program which it has undertaken, and, where necessary, to sell goods on credit terms not exceeding two years in duration."

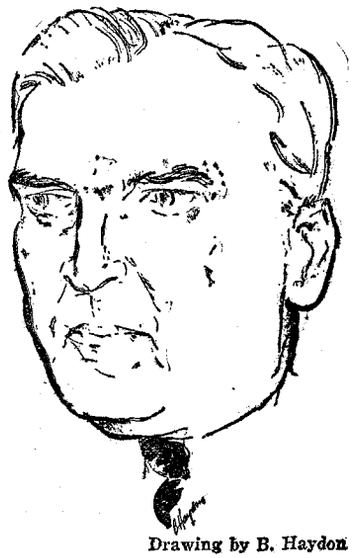
The program of assistance invokes the aid of the Secretaries of War and the Treasury, the High Commissioner to the Philippines, the Alien Property Custodian, the Attorney General, the Surplus Property Administrator, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the president of the Export-Import Bank, the Administrator of War Shipping, and the chairman of the RFC. It paints the situation as so grave that it could hardly be straightened out before the islands are scheduled to assume the entire burden of their own support and governing. Yet the only hint it gives that the all-important time element might be stretched is contained in two paragraphs, one addressed to the chairman of the RFC, which is quoted above, and another on the subject of enemy property, which says, "Should these operations extend beyond the date of independence, I shall endeavor to arrange by treaty or otherwise for the completion of the processes of vesting and liquidation."

What "otherwise" might mean is not explained, but it should be noted that the Presidential directives set in motion machinery of a kind and a size that can get under way in six months but cannot conceivably finish its formidable tasks in that short time. What, then, are the probabilities? Will independence be granted on schedule, regardless of the condition of the islands? Or will it be postponed, on request from Washington or Manila, until the American program of assistance has had time to function adequately?

It will be remembered that when war broke out, the High Commissioner was Francis Sayre. Between his resignation in February, 1942, and the appointment of McNutt in the fall of 1945 the Secretary of the Interior watched over the Philippines as best he could in the absence of communications. The executive order accompanying Mr. McNutt's appointment specifically stated that the High Commissioner in the Philippine Islands and the Secretary of the Interior in the United States "shall be responsible for the representation, administration, and coordination of the authority and policies of the United States government in respect to the Philippine Islands."

In the Senate the guardian of Philippine affairs is Millard Tydings, author of the Tydings-MacDuffie act of 1934 and chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs. In the House it is C. Jasper Bell of Missouri. Both these gentlemen are members—Mr. Tydings is chairman—of the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission which was appointed by Congress in the summer of 1944 and, so far as can be ascertained, has been slumbering ever since.

High Commissioner McNutt has not talked about Philippine independence since his new appointment, but he did make speeches when he was High Commissioner in the late 1930's. His general attitude may be guessed by rereading a speech he made in March of 1938 before the Chicago Economic Club, in which he severely criticized certain features of the Tydings-MacDuffie act. In his final report to the President he went even farther.



Drawing by B. Haydon

Paul McNutt

The uncertainty and artificiality which still feature Philippine economy and finance [he said], together with the admitted impossibility of national defense and the troublesome international situation, are being daily more and more realized by Filipinos and Americans and foreigners resident in the Philippines. Doubt is growing as to the desirability of either economic or political independence. *In view of the growing general realization in the Philippines of the serious economic, financial, and international consequences which may result from independence, it is recommended that both the government of the United States and that of the Commonwealth support and carry through a reexamination of every phase of the question.* (The italics are Mr. McNutt's.)

No such reexamination was held. Instead, the "international consequences" arrived ahead of independence. Whether or not Mr. McNutt has changed his mind one does not know, but the logic of events would not so suggest.

Mr. Tydings holds very different views. As author of the act which promised the Filipinos independence in 1946, he has a vested interest in seeing that promise fulfilled. He visited the islands last May as head of a Presidential mission, and his report to Congress painted a dark picture.

> It is a picture of centuries of effort, building, and development which have been destroyed and wiped out before the relentless conflict of war. . . . Tens of thousands are without clothing, food, and medicine. . . . It is impossible, except through the limited supply of army goods, to buy any of the necessities of life in the Philippines. . . . Not a bank in the island is open. . . . It will take at least two years, probably three, to even revive the sugar industry. . . . Much machinery was shipped to Japan. . . . The food situation in the Philippines is tragic. . . . Most bridges are destroyed. . . . 15 per cent of all the buildings in the islands have been destroyed.

But this black picture in no way changed his basic stand. In the same report he said firmly, "I look upon independence as a settled issue. . . . The event of Filipino independence on or before July 4, 1946, is as certain as anything can be."

The Senator is not wholly insensitive to the question of how a people so beset by trouble can carry out the obligations of independence. His first idea was that the United States should grant a hundred million dollars for rehabilitation and relief in the Philippines, the spending to be done by us. Since then he has introduced four bills: one provides that war damages shall be paid both by the Japanese and by the American liberators; one would turn over to the Philippine government certain funds which have been accumulated from excise taxes and held in our Treasury; one would transfer certain Japanese properties to the Philippine government;

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one is a trade-relations act which would raise tariff barriers slowly over a period of twenty years instead of slapping them on the moment independence is granted.

Representative Bell was invited to introduce a similar trade bill in the House. Instead, he came forward with a bill providing for twenty years of free trade between the Philippines and the United States to cushion the shock of economic independence, which is the price of political independence. Obviously, a country which in the last year before the war carried on 80 per cent of its trade with a single nation, as did the Philippine Commonwealth with the United States, cannot endure the sudden imposition of tariff barriers and keep its balance. The offer of twenty years of free trade may prove to be one of the devices which will make it possible for the Filipinos to have independence without immediate starvation.

The physical confusion in Manila has its parallel in the political confusion. Independence is of course a cause to which all parties pay tribute. Sergio Osmeña, the aging and enfeebled friend of the United States who succeeded to the Presidency after Quezon died, spent the war years in the United States and suffers the handicaps of every official who functioned in exile. Among his competitors for power are men who worked with the Japanese and men who worked against them. In the first group are Senate President Manuel Roxas, known before the war as the coming strong man of the islands—he is staunchly defended as a patriot by many persons, including General MacArthur, but is attacked with equal vigor by the resistance leaders—and Jorge Vargas, head of the Supreme Court. The other group includes Tomas Confesor and Tomas Kabili, who worked with the guerrillas for many years—both men were appointed by Osmeña to his post-liberation Cabinet and turned down by the Philippine Senate—and Alejando Castro and Louis Taruk, leaders of the Hukbalahap (People's Anti-Japanese Army), who made their influence felt first in the field and then in the capital.

Bit by bit the problem is becoming one of balancing political expediency against economic realism. It is generally believed that independence will have to be granted on schedule for a number of reasons. No Filipino leader has yet risked his political career by advocating its postponement, though there is a rumor that Manuel Roxas favors dominion status for the islands after the form of independence has been granted. No American leader has explained to the satisfaction of Congress just how and why independence for the Filipinos might be thought to have gone sour. No American spokesman in international affairs has figured out a way to explain convincingly to the rest of the world that the magnanimous gesture we so loudly advertise when we reprove other nations for their colonial policies is not opportune at the moment.

[*This is the first instalment of an analysis of the Philippine problem by Miss Adams.*]

What's Behind the Attack on the Co-ops

BY PAUL GREER

A staff writer on the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

THE success of the Rochdale plan of cooperation, by which savings accumulated by self-service are credited to member patrons, has created a new political issue: Shall the earnings of cooperatives be taxed just like corporation profits? The movement of co-ops into those economic fields where wide margins of profit have tended to reduce consumer purchasing power runs counter to the interests of both native monopolies and international cartels. Private enterprise, therefore, has long been trying to apply a brake to their progress. Now Congress, seeking new sources of federal revenue, is reported to be exploring the possibilities of taxing the co-ops, influenced perhaps by the recent recommendation of a Royal Commission to the Canadian government that cooperatives in the Dominion be subjected to income and excess-profits taxes. According to the New York *Times* of January 2, Congress expects to take up the question soon after it reconvenes next week.

This is no village feud along Main Street. In the petroleum field, for instance, 1,500 cooperative service stations have been established in the United States, and one-fifth of all gasoline and oil used on farms is supplied cooperatively. Behind this service are eleven cooperatively owned refineries, with their own oil wells, pipe lines, river barges, railway tank cars, and trucks. Formation of an international cooperative petroleum association was approved in principle at a meeting of the International Cooperative Alliance held in London in September of last year. The idea originated with Howard A. Cowden, president of the Consumers' Cooperative Association of Kansas City. With him on a committee to work out details are executives of the Swedish, Scottish, English, and French co-ops. Though the demand for tractor fuel in Europe is bound to increase, few members of the great English and Scottish movements have automobiles, and Cowden has therefore advised the cooperatives to work for lower-priced motor cars, reduced taxes on horse-power, and cheaper gasoline.

In one year co-ops in the United States have increased their business 20 per cent, with savings at the rate of $200,000,000. This accumulation of savings has been used to establish other instruments of mutual aid. Indiana farmers have bought into a coal mine. Miners at Dillonvale, Ohio, have established their own packing plant, in addition to a chain of stores and a community hall, complete even to a tap room. All kinds of businesses are run cooperatively—saw mills, feed mills, fertilizer works; plants producing everything from cosmetics, fly spray, and paint to milking machines and tractors; canneries, hospitals, undertaking establishments, power plants, insurance mutuals, and even banks.

Instead of selling at cost, consumer co-ops usually charge their members current prices, crediting the overcharge for

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annual refund. In Scotland the charge for many items is greater than in stores operated for private profit, and the system of refunds works as a savings bank. In America the overcharges are often placed in a five-year revolving fund, which means that the member reinvests or pyramids his savings for the expansion of services. Thus the movement has pushed out rapidly from distribution into production.

Ultimately consumers pay for every factory and processing plant that supplies them with goods. Only in the case of cooperative enterprises do they obtain title. This fact and the turnover of more than four billion dollars a year attained by cooperatives explain the intensive propaganda campaign being carried on by private enterprise to tax co-op earnings. The opposite view has been expressed by the St. Paul *Pioneer Press,* published in a center of cooperative activity. "These cooperatives, their services and the genius of their leaders, will be highly important assets in coping with the peace-time economic problems that lie ahead," an editorial in the *Pioneer Press* said recently. "Public policies affecting these cooperatives should not be shaped by Minneapolis grain traders with private axes to grind. The people of this country, if they have the facts, will not stand for crippling the cooperative movement through the proposed tax device." The indignant response from the president of the National Tax Equality Association, Ben C. McCabe, himself a big grain operator, was chiefly remarkable for its admissions: "The cooperative form of business," it said, "enjoys two inherent advantages over private business, advantages that cannot be taken away by any change of laws. They are customer ownership and the division of profits on the basis of patronage rather than primarily on money invested."

With the avowed object of plugging the tax leak the N. T. E. A. pushed a bill through Congress to compel cooperatives, and labor unions as well, to make annual financial reports to the Treasury Department. The results have not yet been made public; in the meantime cooperative leaders are stressing the vast difference between savings dollars and income dollars, or profits. Their view is that nothing short of an amendment to the Constitution would permit taxation of patronage refunds, which represent simply overcharges. If cooperatives were to adopt the price policy of performing their various services without margin, on a cost basis, there certainly would be no funds to tax.

A discussion of the subject prepared by the American Historical Association for the G. I. Round Table of the United States Armed Forces Institute ran as follows:

> The statement is often made that cooperatives do not pay their full share of taxes. What is the situation? . . . Cooperative associations do pay the same property taxes that similar business organizations are required to pay on buildings and plants which they own. But farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives that meet conditions prescribed by Congress are exempt from federal income taxes. Moreover, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has permitted cooperatives which are not entitled to exemption as agricultural cooperatives to subtract from their total income the amount they pay out in patronage refunds and to figure their income tax on the remainder. Many states exempt farmers' cooperatives from state income taxes also.
>
> In the case of consumers' cooperatives, the Bureau of Internal Revenue looks upon patronage refunds as rebates upon the business transacted with members rather than as true income of the association. If a commercial business obligated itself to return its profits to its customers, it could also deduct such refunds in figuring out its taxable income.

The advantage enjoyed by farmer-owned cooperatives over profit business in general, and even over urban consumer cooperatives, derives from Section 101 (12) of the Internal Revenue code. As a form of farm relief this section provides that rural marketing and supply associations are exempt from federal income taxation as long as they pay a fixed and reasonable rate of dividend on their stock, do at least half of their business with members, and in the case of purchasing agencies do at least 85 per cent of their business with farmers as distinguished from town residents. Farm co-ops pay no tax on share capital, on interest declared on it, or on surplus reserve or members' equity reserve. They are able to obtain federal credit at reasonable rates, are not taxed on patronage refunds, and do not even have to buy documentary stamps.

Business men, especially retailers, have been warned by the N. T. E. A. to "keep their eyes open for any attempt to induce Congress to give consumer cooperation special privileges like those of farmer cooperatives." As a matter of fact, non-farmer cooperatives, which are growing very rapidly, have never sought special consideration. They are taxed on share capital and on income and have no standing with the Farm Credit Administration's Banks for Cooperatives. They must put documentary stamps on share certificates, on their transfer, and on certificates of indebtedness and of sales of real estate. Their patronage refunds, however, are not taxed.

In spite of this disparity, the largely urban consumer movement has supported the farm organizations, perhaps feeling that if the outpost should be taken, the whole line might fall. Old-fashioned farm leaders, while welcoming this support, have not been entirely easy over the celerity with which members of labor unions have taken to cooperatives as a means of holding down living expenses.

As things now stand, farm co-ops would lose their tax and loan position if they did not restrict their urban patronage to 15 per cent. Should the N. T. E. A. obtain the repeal of this entire provision, the last trade barrier between farm and town would be removed. American cooperatives might then experience an expansion surpassing the movement in Great Britain or Scandinavia.

In the meantime something is happening to the cooperative theory of political neutrality. (Adherence to this principle in certain parts of occupied Europe led the public to associate some co-ops with collaboration instead of the resistance movement.) In the Labor landslide in England twenty-three candidates wearing the label of the Cooperative Party were elected to Parliament. The present Cabinet includes Alfred Barnes, who has been head of the Cooperative Party for twenty-one years, as Minister of Transport, and A. V. Alexander, a top man in the movement, as First Lord of the Admiralty. In Minnesota Representative Knutson is facing some political opposition caused by his anti-co-op stand, and all over the United States members of cooperatives, in cities as well as on farms, are taking the measure of their representatives in Washington, where the war between monopoly and cooperation will be decided.

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The Far North: International Frontier

BY D. M. LEBOURDAIS

A Canadian newspaperman specializing in economic subjects, Mr. Lebourdais was correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance on an expedition to Wrangell Island. He is the author of "Northward: On the New Frontier."

A WORLD war was fought and millions of lives were blighted or destroyed—chiefly for the possession of land. Yet there is on this continent a region of tremendous future importance which is still virtually undeveloped. Its rocks contain gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, uranium, and many other minerals more valuable than the dream riches of El Dorado. It could produce enough oil to keep all the motor cars in the world running for two hundred years. On its grasslands meat animals can graze the year round. Its arable lands, if put in crop, could feed Europe's starving millions. It is drained by a river system comparable to that of the Mississippi, the Amazon, or the Nile. And in addition it is a bridgehead on the road to Asia.

This fabulous region comprises the Canadian North and Alaska, which are really a geographical unit. Little is known about it, and what most people think they know is usually wrong. They think of it as a frigid wasteland, but it is neither wasteland nor frigid. While a large part of it may not be suited to agriculture, the proportion is no greater than in many countries—Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, for instance—where sturdy peoples have been able to reach a high state of comfort and culture. The winters of course are cold and long, but the amount of summer sunshine is much greater than farther south, and the winter cold is often exaggerated. Many places in the northern states and the settled zone of Canada are quite as cold.

Now that the Canadian North is known to be the most important source of uranium, raw material of the atomic bomb, the whole territory takes on added importance, and its development becomes a matter of high political interest. However, it is quite possible that neither uranium with its destructive potentialities nor radium with its curative qualities will be looked upon as the area's most valuable asset. Its real worth for the whole northern half of the world may lie in the fact that the Mackenzie-Yukon region of Canada and Alaska is a land bridge to Asia. Only in the North do the continents nearly meet. Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, the westernmost point of North America, is within sight of East Cape, Siberia, the easternmost point of Asia. Nome, Alaska, a short distance south of Cape Prince of Wales, is farther west of Seattle than Seattle is west of New York. It is halfway to China. This is easily seen if one looks at a globe rather than at a map on Mercator's projection.

The airplane has set these northern lands in the center of the world today. All the shortest air routes between important points in America on the one hand and Europe and Asia on the other are over the Far North. And the only possible route for land travel between America and Asia is also found in the North. A tunnel may well be dug under Bering Strait some day; it need not be more than fifty or sixty miles long. Of course before a tunnel could be built, an agreement would have to be concluded with the Soviet Union, and before a tunnel could be of much value, a railway would have to be built connecting it with the settled portion of North America. The latter would require the cooperation of Canada and the United States.

The present Alaska Highway, built as a war measure, brings motor traffic to within 500 miles of Bering Strait. Parallel to the highway is a line of airfields over which planes were flown to the Soviet Union during the war. In a sense, therefore, it may be said that this peninsula stretching out to the Northwest is already the highway to Asia.

But although the Alaska Highway and the parallel line of airfields are already well established, the most suitable route for air, land, and water traffic is through the Mackenzie and Yukon valleys. The Mackenzie and Yukon together provide an almost continuous water route—it is interrupted by but one short, low-altitude stretch of land—from the present end of steel in northern Alberta to Bering Sea. The Mackenzie, including its tributaries and lake system, is 2,514 miles long. About 300 miles from where it flows into the Arctic Ocean, separated from it by low passes, a tributary of the Yukon begins and flows in a generally westerly direction to Bering Sea. The route chosen for the Alaska Highway, through tortuous canyons and over high mountains only a few miles west of the easy-grade Mackenzie-Yukon route, was a costly error which can scarcely be justified even by military necessity. Now that the highway has been built, it may help in the development of the adjacent country, but if the opening of the North is to proceed as it should, the use of the Mackenzie-Yukon water route must not be long delayed. After the initial error was made it was necessary to lay a pipe line across mountain ranges to provide oil for trucks and planes on the way to Alaska and Siberia. If highway and airfields had been built down the Mackenzie and Yukon in the first place, the oil would have been exactly where it was needed; and the $134,000,000 Canol project would have been unnecessary.

Modern civilization is built on transport, minerals, and power resources—in addition, of course, to food. The northern two-thirds of Canada east of the Rockies, known as the Canadian Shield, is one of the world's richest mineral storehouses. At Yellowknife on Great Slave Lake, 700 miles from the nearest large center, a gold camp is mushrooming in typical gold-rush fashion. Some of the largest mining companies on the continent have been unobtrusively drilling and developing there since before the war, with spectacular results. Farther north, on Great Bear Lake near the Arctic Circle, are the world's greatest deposits of radium- and uranium-bearing ore. The Canadian government has already taken control of these deposits for the public benefit.

Although gold is found in large or small quantities almost

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everywhere in Alaska, it is not so important to the Alaskan economy as fish or timber; and it would not be surprising if some day coal and copper proved more valuable—to say nothing of petroleum. Northern Alaska and the Mackenzie valley —with Siberia on the opposite side of the Arctic—constitute one of the world's outstanding oil-concentration areas. Because so little drilling has as yet been done, geologists are not able to say what place among the world's four greatest oil regions the Arctic will take, but they are certain that it is among the first four. A tract of 30,000 square miles has been set aside in Alaska for the exclusive use of the United States Navy, but so far nothing has been done to develop it.

How are these northern lands fixed for food? Taking the whole region into consideration, one may say that it can provide much more food than it will ever require for its people, no matter how populous it may become. It is potentially one of the world's greatest meat-producing areas. The grasslands of northern Canada and Alaska are exceeded in extent only by the steppes of Siberia. If a Texas or Alberta cattleman were to be transported magically to the Far North and to awaken on the Arctic tundra in midsummer, he would go mad with joy, for he would see grass such as he had never dreamed of. There would be a catch, however: the grass would be useless for cattle since cattle must be housed and fed in winter, and this would be too expensive. But these grasslands already support such grazing meat animals as the caribou and the musk ox, for which no one needs to cut hay or build barns.

After the Dominion of Canada was formed in 1867, the most pressing problem facing the Canadians was the settlement of the West. It was solved by the offer of free land, which attracted settlers from every country in Europe as well as from the older parts of the United States. The opening up of the North is a very different matter. Sporadic individual efforts would surely fail. So far as Alaska and that section of Canada which is part of the natural bridgehead are concerned, it should be undertaken as an international project. We should forget the boundary line and put the whole region in the hands of a joint commission having full power to proceed.

Surely with the disastrous consequences of economic imperialism in evidence all over the world, it should be possible for us to evolve a plan by which the vast wealth of this favored region might be conserved for the common good. The need for uranium control should point the way; the wasteful manner in which oil resources everywhere have been exploited should furnish an additional incentive. When it was a matter of dislodging the Japanese from the Aleutians, no question of national sovereignty was allowed to stand in the way of the United States building the Alaska Highway through Canadian territory. And when oil was needed for trucks and planes bound for Alaska and beyond, the United States government did not hesitate to drill wells in Canada or to pipe oil from one point in Canada to another. Now that the war is over, the two countries should not withdraw behind their own borders and cut cooperation to a minimum. The wealth of the North could justly form the nucleus of a peace-time Lend-Lease. A further and yet more courageous experiment in international collaboration should be inaugurated.

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Human Needs and Human Nature

I HAVE been shopping with a friend just discharged from the army. He needed to stock up on shirts, socks, ties, gloves, and so forth, but he wasn't able to make much headway. In fact, the net result of our expedition was that I returned with one shirt—the store had a few in my size but none in his—while he was empty-handed! It wasn't because he was unduly choosy but because there was very little to choose from without going into the fancy price ranges. There were plenty of swagger sports shirts at $6 and upward but nothing suitable for a G. I. who wanted to get back to work as soon as possible and meanwhile had to make his mustering-out pay stretch a long way.

Millions of veterans have been sharing this experience, and of course every housewife knows what a headache shopping has become. The Christmas season was a fine time for the stores; they did a record business and were able to unload most of their stocks of *Ersatz*, with great benefit to their balance sheets, for the customers were in a buying mood and if they couldn't get what they wanted took expensive or sleazy substitutes. But in spite of their open-handedness the customers were not satisfied; so far as their relations with the retailers were concerned it tended to be a season of ill-will.

What is the reason for the current shortage of goods, and how can it be overcome? How are we to get a volume of production which will match the tremendous pent-up buying power that is now manifest? The answer of the National Manufacturers' Association is simple: Release all controls, abolish all price ceilings, and give business its head. Free the boys from red tape, offer them the incentive of increased profits, and production will roll forward in a mighty flood.

Well, Congress recently added very considerably to business incentives by ending the excess-profits tax, and the result seems to have been to dam the flood rather than add to the flow. The knowledge that business transacted after January 1 would not be subject to this levy appears to have induced a great many firms to hold back either on production or sales during the last two months. This fact has, of course, been indignantly denied, but there is a good deal of evidence to support it. As early as November 13 Raymond Moley reported in the *Wall Street Journal* complaints "that something very like a strike is going on among the manufacturers of cotton goods." This did not appear at all remarkable to Mr. Moley, who pointed out that it was "only human" for a manufacturer in the excess-profits bracket to defer sales he could be sure of making after the beginning of the new year.

The *United States News*, a very conservative periodical, has been equally frank. In its December 14 issue it declared that "tax-law changes have been a factor" in the lag in production. "Some kinds of goods," it added, "should begin to come to market early in 1946, when taxes will take 38 per

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cent, not 80 per cent, of profits for many producers and distributors. *It has paid to hoard"* (my italics).

Shortages in the textile field have been particularly severe, and it is worth noting that the textile industry is one of the chief beneficiaries of tax relief. As the following table shows, textile manufacturers have been making excess-profits payments equal to two to five times their final net profits, which, nevertheless, have represented a handsome return on capital.

	1944 Excess-Profits Tax	*1944 Net Profit*
American Woolen Co.	$25,540,000	$5,294,909
Arlington Mills	2,119,000	596,832
Merrimack Mfg. Co.	832,000	244,861
Pacific Mills	7,850,000	1,871,609
West Point Mfg. Co.*	3,352,500	1,714,273

* Year ended Aug. 31, 1944.

If costs, prices, and volume of business remain the same in 1946, earnings would be equal to the sum of these two columns. Of course there will be some changes in these factors, but they may tend to cancel out. For instance, wages will almost certainly go up if only to attract enough labor to keep up with demand. But with additional labor a larger volume should be possible. As to textile prices, there is not the slightest probability that they will be reduced this year. For while it is true that in a sellers' market corporation taxes are to a large extent passed on to consumers, a reduction in taxes does not mean cheaper goods as long as supply is unequal to demand. Consequently, for many industries, including textiles, abolition of the excess-profits tax means a tremendous windfall that ought to end all the clamor about profits being insufficient to induce production.

Nevertheless, I expect that clamor to continue, since it is also true that under present price controls business is being prevented from charging all that the traffic will bear, and nothing less will satisfy it. But it doesn't follow that if the OPA were ended and the free market reestablished goods would suddenly become plentiful. For the sharp upward movement of prices which would certainly follow would encourage hoarding in anticipation of further increases. Manufacturers would scramble to build up their inventories of materials, wholesalers to fill their warehouses, retailers to stock their shelves, while the panic-stricken consumer, who in a race like this always gets the worst of it, would buy whatever he could lay hands on. Yet the *Wall Street Journal* in a recent editorial declared that there was absolutely no need for an OPA to protect consumers since consumers could always protect themselves by ceasing to buy. So they can, in theory, but it is a theory much more comforting to a financial editor with a well-furnished apartment and an amply stocked clothes closet than to a veteran seeking to establish a home. His demands are not postponable, and for him inflation means the rapid exhaustion of his savings.

Henry Hazlitt, another champion of the free-market cure for scarcity, writing in the New York *Times* on December 17, complained that price controls prevented "trustworthy comparisons of relative shortages" and thus were an obstacle to the concentration of productive facilities at "the points where they were most needed." For example, he asserted, no more effective way of preventing a building boom could be devised than setting price ceilings on new houses. Mr. Hazlitt's underlying assumption is that need can be measured by ability to pay. But we know that in housing the greatest need is for low-priced dwellings and that in a free market building facilities would inevitably be concentrated on the production of high-priced houses and business structures. Nor is it at all certain that a boom would occur. After the last war, controls were abandoned within a few weeks of the Armistice, but the Federal Reserve Board index of residential construction (1923-25 equals 100) stood at 44 for the year 1919 and at only 30 for 1920.

Comparisons with World War I are also illuminating in regard to other forms of production. Then controls were much milder, and prices rose faster and higher. Prices of industrial goods, for instance, increased 88 per cent, while production advanced only 20 per cent. During World War II industrial prices were held down to a 21 per cent increase, but despite this discouragement to enterprise, production jumped by 116 per cent. On the basis of these facts it cannot be claimed that there is any direct correlation between a free market and the level of production.

It cannot be claimed, either, that a tight rein on prices in the past four years has unduly restricted profits and left business financially weakened. On the contrary, most corporations have reported much higher earnings, after taxes, throughout the war, and now find themselves in a very healthy position, with ample reserves for reconversion and expansion. For if they have not enjoyed the speculative bonanzas which World War I brought to many businesses, they have reaped a harvest through their huge increase in volume.

In this first crucial post-war year it is vital that business should be encouraged to seek prosperity through maintenance of volume rather than through the increased profit margins which would result from the cancelation of price controls. More than that, business ought to be encouraged to think in terms of a stable price level and strongly discouraged from holding back production or building up stocks in the hope of making a speculative killing.

That is one reason why the extension of the OPA beyond next June 30 should be considered by Congress, not in the late spring, but immediately it reconvenes this month. If manufacturers and merchants are given any cause to hope that price controls will be abandoned after mid-summer, they will inevitably tend to hold goods for a higher price. As Mr. Moley says, it is only "human nature" that they should do so. No smart free enterpriser worth his salt will sell today for $100 something he may reasonably expect to get $125 for in a month or two, unless he is hard pressed for cash.

If, therefore, we are to avoid hoarding and stimulate production, business should be given early notice that the price line will be held for at least another year. This does not mean that there should be no adjustments in price; in certain cases they will be needed to induce the investment of new capital, in others to make possible higher wages. But by and large industry, fatly cushioned by the repeal of the excess-profits tax, can make handsome profits at current prices provided it maintains production schedules. Let Congress, then, adopt policies which will end the chase after speculative profits and set off business in a steady pursuit of volume.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

OF COURSE it would have been more fun for the little Doctor to write a German Charter for the World, but when Allied victory made that impossible, he doubtless drew a certain satisfaction from composing a charter for the post-war fascists. Throughout Hitler's political testament the personal style of Dr. Goebbels—insolent, vindictive, fanatical—is unmistakable. A commentator with a sense of humor is inevitably tempted to make political satire out of the document disclosed by the Allies on December 30. But I remember the Théâtre des Dix Heures in Paris where French chansonniers used to delight the audience with jokes about "Mein Kampf"—and while Paris laughed, Hitler armed. So I shall take his testament for what it is: the arrogant claim of a man who, though beaten, is confident he leaves behind a movement that will survive.

Hitler was not a fool in assuming the possibility of a fascist revival. Indeed, no revival is necessary, for fascism has weathered the storm; it has injected even into the blood of the victors a poison that is sapping their strength. The record of the FBI in the field of military counter-intelligence is magnificent, but in combating political espionage its performance is rather less brilliant than the sample provided in "The House on 92nd Street." No more than a fortnight ago a certain Demetrio Carceller checked into the Savoy-Plaza Hotel in New York; when he signed the register he should have added: "Franco agent; former Minister of Industry and Commerce of the Spanish fascist regime." Demetrio Carceller, one of the ablest Phalangists, can come and go freely in the United States while José Rodriguez Vega, Republican exile and general secretary of the Spanish U. G. T. (General Workers' Union), was refused an American transit visa from Mexico to Paris—on the wholly unfounded charge that he was a Communist.

Through Hitler's mind, as he dictated his testament during the forty-eight hours before his death—if he is really dead—must have passed a panorama of the six years before 1939, when he had only to bluster and threaten to win concessions from the terrified democracies. Chamberlain is dead and Daladier is politically also dead, but many appeasers still occupy responsible posts in government, business, the church hierarchy, and the diplomatic corps of the United Nations. Interpreting the nationalization laws as the handwriting on the wall for capitalism in Europe, they already begin to long for a new Führer. In Italy they have found a willing candidate in the person of Guglielmo Giannini, founder of the *Uomo Qualunque* front. This swashbuckling, gun-toting clown speaks a language which Italians have heard before: what Italy needs is a government of experts—the politicians and the parties must go.

Remembering things past, Hitler may have lingered pleasantly over the thought of the democracies' excessive zeal in safeguarding freedom. Even now in the special hell to which he has been consigned he must be smiling at the spectacle of an Oswald Mosley again in command of his pre-war fascist organization, while a British Labor government, as if oblivious of the thousands of young Britons who died fighting Mosley's allies, proclaims that it will never use "totalitarian methods" to suppress him. There would be less danger of totalitarian methods being one day employed in Britain if Sir Oswald and his beautiful wife joined the Nazi labor battalions rebuilding the devastated cities of Europe.

Of course the question will be raised: What about the countries occupied or influenced by Russia? Let me say plainly that an old fascist holding public office in Rumania is as obnoxious to me as one in office in Italy. And when the Italian Communists supported Badoglio and appeared to attach little importance to the demand for the abdication of King Victor Emanuel, I condemned their stand strongly in a *Nation* article. But while the use of isolated fascists by the Russians may have an immediate demoralizing and confusing effect, it is a very different matter from the use of fascists by the Western powers. The Russians are single-minded in their determination to liquidate fascism as a system and a movement; and this purpose will not be altered even if they employ fifty fascists to carry out one of those political maneuvers to which Communists in recent years have become so addicted. Nobody can seriously believe that Russia, after what it has suffered and accomplished, is going to permit any fascist regime to return to power in Europe. Unfortunately the same cannot be said with equal assurance of the West. When British or Americans use fascists in their zones of occupation or encourage reactionaries in office, one cannot write it off as a mistaken but temporary expedient, for nothing has happened to convince us that the democracies have learned—even yet—that fascism must be rooted out completely and everywhere.

Having ended the war without winning a clear political victory, the Western Allies are now confronted with some unfinished business which must be wound up quickly if Hitler's testament is not to be put into effect by his disciples in every part of the world. We "premature anti-fascists," who were the objects of such unfriendly attention from the intelligence services of all the democratic countries, will continue our role of gadfly until the destruction of fascism renders the very word "anti-fascist" obsolete. As a start we suggest that the Assembly of the UNO which meets in London this month undo the damage done when Argentina was admitted to membership in the United Nations. The Assembly should immediately serve notice on Argentina that, having failed in the obligations agreed upon at Chapultepec and San Francisco, it will be suspended until a clearly democratic government takes power. Following that the Assembly should carry to its logical conclusion the San Francisco resolution on Spain, asking all the member states to end diplomatic relations with the Franco regime. And, above all, it should proclaim the principle of collective sanctions against any country that chooses fascism as its form of government.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

THE SICK CITY AND THE FAMILY ROMANCE

BY DELMORE SCHWARTZ

THE books of Abram Kardiner* are based upon the concept of "basic personality" and upon a union of the disciplines of psychoanalysis, sociology, and anthropology. Basic personality is a technical term far from equivalent in meaning to the popular sense of personality, or to such colorful personalities as John Barrymore and Alexander Woollcott. The recent biographies—or, more exactly, disguised jokebooks—by Gene Fowler and Samuel Hopkins Adams which deal with these gifted, unhappy, and wasted human beings do touch, however, upon Kardiner's important researches. The reader of Kardiner will be able to rescue from the two grab bags a few significant facts—the fact that Barrymore was afraid he would go insane, like his father, and that Woollcott detested his father, adored his mother, and as a child was dressed as a girl. Fowler refers in passing to "the neo-Freudians," and Adams mentions intimate psychological matters, but both books might have been written forty or one hundred years ago, for all the use they make of insights which should by now be familiar to the biographical author. The distance which separates Fowler and Adams from Kardiner is significant because Barrymore and Woollcott were human beings whose lives represent and illuminate life in America. Moreover, one of the limitations of Kardiner's studies is the singling out of a small rural community in the Middle West as typical of America. Kardiner has some methodological justification for taking a backward community as representative of our culture, but one cannot help speculating repeatedly on whether a big city or an academic community might not have been more fruitful. The question becomes all the more pressing when Kardiner analyzes the characters of four human beings in Plainville, the pseudonymous name of his rural community. For it seems likely enough that celebrated and gifted beings such as Barrymore and Woollcott might have yielded richer and more illuminating results. In reading about Plainville, one also remembers such a work about rural people as James Agee's "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men." The anthropologist's picture has the same relation to Agee's as photographs of the moon's craters have to an actual sight of the moon. No doubt one must keep both purviews in mind if one is interested in the truth, but in this instance it is clear that the poet has come closer to intimate knowledge than the scientist.

The concept of basic personality begins with the premise that human nature is not the same the world over but that each society develops a basic personality or character structure which distinguishes it from other societies. Thus a Wall Street broker and a Dutch fisherman, different as they are, resemble each other in character structure much more than they resemble an Eskimo. Their resemblance and their fundamental sameness is produced by the institutions of Western culture. A great deal of variety—an infinite variety, says Kardiner—is possible within the framework of basic personality: the same society gave being at about the same time to Horatio Alger and Henry James, and the same family included Henry James, William James, Alice James, and the two now forgotten brothers. Yet if we compare any of these human beings to Fantan, a fascinating character who belongs to a primitive people named the Alorese and is continually on the verge of divorcing his wife, the Western human beings show a likeness as obvious as red hair, and their difference from Fantan is not at all like their difference from each other.

This profound difference Kardiner attempts to explain by a detailed comparison of Western culture with four primitive societies. As a psychoanalyst Kardiner is predisposed to emphasize the institution of the family and the child's relationship to his parents. Yet one of his great virtues is his effort to connect the family relationships with the economic system and other institutions of any society, institutions which most analysts tend to regard either as derived from the family life or as not really crucial in determining the fate and the character of the individual. Freud, for example, makes much of the fact that one of his patients, after being cured in 1914, lived through the World War and the Russian Revolution without breaking down under the strain of the social crisis. Kardiner shows, however, how just such social crises can "mobilize" the latent neuroticism of a human being. It is, at any rate, the institutions peculiar to a given society, the chief of which is the parental care of the child, which bring into being the fundamental structure of character of all the human beings of that society. Thus among the Alorese, who inhabit an island in the East Indies, the mother is the breadwinner. She works all day in the rice fields which are the economic basis of this people, and consequently she does not take care of her child as a Western mother does. The effect of this economic role of the mother upon the child is extraordinary. Maternal neglect of the child creates an adult human being who is full of anxiety, mistrust, and emotional instability; and who is without constructive ability, an interest in the outer world, or executive capacities. The Alorese men resent the women and suffer from a repressed longing for tenderness and affection. The women in turn suffer from a resentment of work, an aggressiveness toward the male, and a repressed longing for the maternal role. This example ought to illustrate the

* "The Individual and His Society." Columbia University Press (1939), $5. "The Psychological Frontiers of Society." By Abram Kardiner, with the Collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois, and James West. Columbia University Press (1945), $5.

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intimate connections between the economic order, the family life, and the development of individual character.

Our own society, by making as much as possible of maternal care, brings into being the Oedipus complex, which Freud, with his genius for phrases, entitled "the family romance" and which Mr. Fowler might describe as "boy meets mother." To most human beings the idea that the Oedipus complex, the sexual feelings an infant has toward his mother and his hatred of his father as a rival, is crucial in the formation of the character of all Western beings will seem like a strange, silly, and doubtless repugnant conception, although in America Mothers' Day is the national celebration of the Oedipus complex. Repugnant or not, Kardiner demonstrates how, in Plainville, U. S. A., as in Western society since the Pharaohs, good maternal care brings about strong attachment to the mother, the tendency to idealize the parent and thus authority in general, the strong "development of curiosity and executive capacities," and all the other traits of character which have made Western man active, self-reliant, and ambitious. But precisely this attachment to the mother, involved as it is with a repressed hatred of the father, brings about also the tendency toward extreme aggressiveness, competitiveness, and hostility, the consequence of which is the systematic anxiety and insecurity which also have always characterized Western society. The child's sense of rivalry with his father soon becomes a competition with his brothers and sisters, and as an adult human being he feels that all men are enemies at the same time as he seeks to believe that all men are brothers. So, too, the child's idealization of his mother creates extraordinary inhibitions of sexual desire. Consequently as an adult human being he suffers from an overwhelming sense of shame and guilt about the act of making love, one of the results being a tendency to take success and social esteem as a substitute. But "there is no substitute for sexual gratification," and the emphasis upon success as a means of winning the esteem of the loved parent is already overwhelming for other reasons. Hence the adult Western man is weakened by tensions, conflicts, and anxieties which often become unbearable. Guilt, depression, and suicide prevail in Western culture —Western religions, for example, may be regarded as techniques for the forgiveness of guilt—while among the Alorese guilt, depression, and suicide do not exist at all.

The rise of science, the discrediting of religion, and the abiding triumph of capitalism have focused the basic personality of Western man upon one goal, success, the only proof of which is the endless acquisition of money: the chief ideal of Western culture is the possession of one million dollars. In discussing this edifying ideal Kardiner attempts to show how social and economic changes are effective only in so far as they draw upon traits of character determined by parental discipline. Parental discipline does not create social change, but it provides the psychological forces within the human being necessary to accomplish the change. Thus the rise of capitalism drew upon the denial or postponement of pleasure which is part of the training of the Western infant, and which was transformed into thrift, industry, obedience, and the other traits necessary to the growth of capitalism. But this kind of training, as it emphasizes striving for self-esteem and success, releases at

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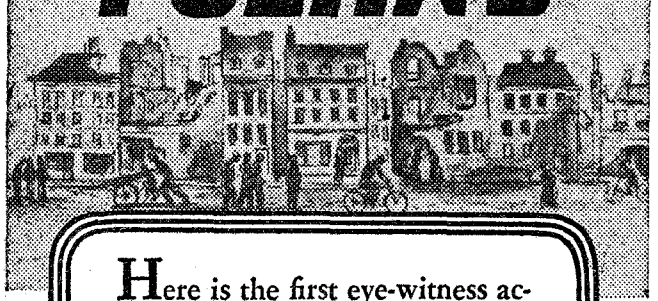

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the same time the extraordinary aggressiveness which takes so many cruel forms. Aggressiveness turned inward results in masochism, feelings of inferiority, passivity, and other kinds of weakness. Turned outward, the result is sadism, extreme rivalry, envy, and conflict, the social climax being war. Competitiveness, which motivates the entire psychological formation, is not in itself evil, since it may create a strong and self-reliant human being; but in a scarcity economy such as ours the combination of the social system with a basic personality focused on competition for success overburdens the lives of most human beings with tensions and insecurities for which there is no relief and for which only one term is adequate—lifelong neuroticism.

It should be remarked that as a psychoanalyst Kardiner is involved in the revision of Freud initiated by Erich Fromm and Karen Horney, a revision in which the human being's need of support and security is as much a primary motive as sexual desire. Indeed, Kardiner describes the Oepidus complex itself in terms of the infant's desire for maternal care as well as sexual gratification. The correctness of this criticism of Freudian method cannot be determined by argument, of which there is no lack, but only by actual clinical practice. This suggests that many of us may have been born too soon to know what the whole truth is. But at any rate to a layman Kardiner's explication of his departure from Freud is remarkable for clarity of statement, absence of polemic, and scrupulous effort to account for the view which Freud himself wrongly adopted.

This necessity of justifying the revision of a scientific method is but one of the causes for the difficulty and abstruseness of Kardiner's prose. Indeed, the abstruseness of the terminology may very well conceal the fact that these books seek out the very depths of our lives. The reader can be forgiven for not recognizing a phrase like "the social discomforts of our time" as a description of wars, depressions, and the unhappiness of most human beings. It is a fact, however, that few books have attempted as these books do to examine the assumptions, habits, and institutions of our lives.

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I WONDER how many people in this great age of technology are sometimes oppressed, as I am, by the feeling that we live in a kind of vast prison with invisible walls, from which we catch glimpses once in a while, as out of a high small window, of the life we should be having, considering how short our sojourn on this earth must be? It is a self-made prison; who's to stop us from spending at least one-third of our time "outside"—looking at wonderful pictures, walking in the moonlight, watching a garden grow and wither and grow again, talking good talk, writing a paragraph for the sheer pleasure of it, or whatever it is that seems to each of us to constitute the good life? Yet how often do we do any of these things? Or do them as if they were not, like all our other activities, things we *ought* to be doing?

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Some people, a very few, do manage to live "outside" or to get there and bring us back reports. The wonderful thing about Dylan Thomas's poem, "Fern Hill," which I printed some weeks ago was the sense it gave me of having been released, turned loose in a sunny meadow "painted with flowers," and the further sense that this was the "real" world. In a different, much less dramatic way, one gets a similar feeling from "All Trivia" by Logan Pearsall Smith (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50).

It takes courage to name a small book "All Trivia" and send it out into a world of vast events, significant works in two volumes, best-sellers half a foot thick, and titles that scream each other down. But I suspect that Mr. Smith's unpretentious little volume, in which he has gathered together "Trivia" and "More Trivia" and added Afterthoughts and Last Words, will outsit most of its contemporaries on the shelf of books one keeps. As most people know, Mr. Smith's Trivia are comments, brief and very brief, on everything under the sun. And he has distilled the experience and thought of a long and sentient life into drops of prose as limpid and pure as you are likely to find.

Mr. Smith admittedly takes great care with his words, sentences, paragraphs. But if I'm any judge he also gets a direct simple pleasure out of the actual writing that is not as common as non-writers may think—the same sort of pleasure those old cabinet-makers must have got out of turning a chair or a table. And this joy of his is embodied in the product, just as the joy of the craftsman, or so I've always felt, is embodied in the chair or table—and almost as palpable as the seasoned silky wood or the good design.

There is no "fine writing" in "All Trivia." Mr. Smith's taste and his nice sense of the ridiculous save him from that just as they save him from whimsicality—even though he writes as often as not of subjects that would betray more assuming writers. He is disillusioned and sophisticated, sardonic and irreverent. But he can still become lost in wonder at the thought of the universe, and his book has a sweetness and equability of temper in itself as refreshing as spring water fresh from the "outside."

I WENT TO SEE the first production of the Readers' Theater, which is putting on a series of dramatic works of the past. "In order to avoid the great technical and financial responsibilities that full production entails" the plays are being presented without scenery or costumes, and the parts are read from scripts, but by professional actors. The project is sponsored by two committees, one of people connected with the theater and one of critics and writers; the theatrical unions have made concessions and Lee Schubert is providing a theater for the first three productions. James Light, Joel Schenker, and Henry G. Alsberg are in charge of operations.

The first play to be given was Sophocles's "Oedipus Rex" in a version by William Butler Yeats. The second will be Calderón's "The Mayor of Zalamea" (on January 13), the third John Ford's "'Tis Pity She's a Whore."

"Oedipus Rex" (Majestic Theater) got unfavorable critical notices but I enjoyed it—and the audience seemed to me surprisingly enthusiastic. Eugene O'Neill, Jr.'s introduction was too long drawn out and its cosy tone a bit out of line with Sophocles and Yeats. Of the players, Frederic

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Tozere as Oepidus was the least satisfactory, Harry Irvine as Tiresias the most convincing, but in general the plain-clothes cast was adequate and the text itself is so fine, the play so powerful, that once it was set in motion the lack of props and the reading from scripts didn't much matter.

I came away brooding, once more, on the really scandalous fact that there are no repertory theaters in this country. Everyone would consider it intolerable and absurd if only contemporary poetry and fiction, music and art were available. Yet in the theater we are almost entirely limited to contemporary plays. To be sure, the great and not so great dramatists of the past are accessible as literature; they ought also to be accessible in the form in which they were meant to be presented.

There should, of course, be a repertory theater in every city, supported if necessary by government funds. After all, federal and state funds are used to train physicians, lawyers, musicians, and journalists and to maintain libraries for their use. Why not repertory theaters which would provide experience and training for professional workers in the theater? They would certainly improve the quality of acting; they might improve the quality of plays by setting good examples. And it is hard to see how such a project could hurt private theater interests. On the contrary it would probably increase the public demand for "legitimate" plays, and a string of repertory theaters purveying adult works might create a healthy backfire against radio drama and the movies, which, whatever their technical proficiency, are deliberately geared to a middling if not lower level of intelligence and taste—and completely dominated by a stupid and stupefying code of "inoffensiveness" which professes to reflect the *mores* of the country but is in reality at least twenty years out of date.

Henry Miller
has written a book about the USA. Like everything this extraordinary author does it is disturbing and revelatory and prophetic. It's called
Air-Conditioned Nightmare
This book will infuriate people who think "the American way" is now perfect. It will give Americans who want to make our spiritual standard of living as high as our material one plenty to think about. $3.50.
New Directions, 500 5th Ave., N. Y. C., also publish Miller's "Sunday After the War", "Cosmological Eye", "Colossus of Maroussi", and "Wisdom of the Heart" ($3 each).
New Directions

A COMMITTEE of the Association of Research Libraries, whose chairman is William Warner Bishop, Librarian Emeritus of the General Library of the University of Michigan, is issuing a "photo-lithoprint reprint" of the "Catalogue of Printed Books of the British Museum." A new edition now being issued by the museum itself will not be completed for years. Meantime the paper in the original edition is disintegrating under use. The reprint is to be financed by subscriptions, and the final price will depend upon the number of subscriptions received. They may be sent to Paul North Rice, executive secretary of the Association of Research Libraries, at the New York Public Library or to Mr. Bishop or to the publisher, J. W. Edwards, at Ann Arbor.

Librarians and scholars will no doubt be delighted to hear this news since, as Mr. Bishop says, the "Catalogue" is an indispensable book for all literary, historical, and scientific research. I am happy to pass the news along, if only because it is reassuring to find anyone taking peace and international cooperation so much for granted.

WE WERE TALKING about superstition in a condescending way. But when a dissident demurred we agreed that superstitions have often had a base, far back, in some experience of the race. "Truth," mused the dissident, "usually begins as heresy and ends as superstition." "And yet," he continued after a self-searching pause during which he might have been passing under review his own long life as a fancier of truth, "truth is still worth looking for. It's interesting." One could wish it were fashionable as well.

Canada and the United States

NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE. By John Bartlett Brebner. Yale University Press. $4.

MEMBERS of Congress should be required to read this book. So should members of Parliament in Canada and Great Britain. Because misunderstandings between nations—and it has been particularly true of the three in question—arise all too often from bad teaching of history and bad reading of history. "North Atlantic Triangle" is a notable example of interpreting history from a point of view that is neither nationalistic nor yet aloofly internationalist. It is, in fact, the retelling of the *common* history of three great democracies whose pasts have been molded by mutual interests and by fierce antagonisms and whose destinies from the beginning to the present day have been inextricably bound together. I don't know why I have emphasized the *must* nature of this book. Any member of Congress or of Parliament who can read will find "North Atlantic Triangle" an exciting adventure in historical exploration.

The title is a little misleading: its full meaning does not become evident until the final chapters. The book is the concluding work in the distinguished Carnegie Endowment series: "The Relation of Canada and the United States." Chiefly the book is concerned with the conquest and settle-

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ment of a continent, with the emergence of a North American economy and a North American culture, with the political preferences which determined that there should be two nations north of the Rio Grande and not one. Geography and topography played important roles. The great shield of granite which circles Hudson's Bay and covers most of northern and eastern Canada had much to do with the economy and politics of North America. Until quite recently, when mining, power, and timber have attracted some settlement, it remained a great wilderness in contrast with the thickly settled land south of the border. Moreover, it constituted for Canada a barrier between the eastern provinces and the western plains until the railway drove its steel west to the mountains and beyond. The four main entrances to the continent—the St. Lawrence, the Hudson, Hudson's Bay, the Mississippi—set the pattern of commercial warfare from the earliest days of the French and English fur traders to the days when canals and railroads superseded the great natural waterways. It is interesting to speculate what might have happened had Champlain, instead of returning to the St. Lawrence in 1607, continued his explorations down the New England coast beyond the Cape and discovered the great Atlantic entrance a year or two before Hudson.

Professor Brebner's important contribution is to show how closely the political acts of France, Spain, and England, then England and the thirteen colonies, and then England, Canada, and the United States were related to basic economic interests, frequently conflicting, often complementary. That does not mean, of course, that the development of political democracy in North America was simply a rationalization of economics and geography. For England, Canada, and the United States all developed under the impact of political ideas that sprang from ancient battles against the privileged claims of kings and feudal overlords. In North America this battle came to a head at the unhappy moment when England was making a belated experiment in royal rule. It continued in England through the nineteenth century. It continued in Canada, where native democrats found themselves at odds with stupid colonial administrators and native landed tories —reinforced after the War of Independence by tory loyalists who flocked across the border to take up their land grants and add their weight to reaction. Fortunately Canadian democracy was tough enough and wise enough to survive. The new ideas of Adam Smith had shattered the dreary mercantilist framework of British colonial thought, and the economic interests of a united Canada reaching from sea to sea coincided with the pressure for self-government.

The emergence of the "North Atlantic Triangle" of counter-balanced economic and political interests has become an important fact in world affairs. Each of the three nations has recently experimented in political isolationism and its own brand of economic nationalism. Each has learned the lesson of interdependence the hard way. In the war the three powers developed the highest degree of joint action in planning military defense, war production, and economic controls. In the post-war world the Canadian-American-British triangle is important because it has demonstrated the possibility of close international cooperation between nations that in the past frequently sought solutions by conflict. It is important because it constitutes a bridge between North

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America and Europe—Canada in the air age is almost as close a neighbor of Europe as is England. The advantages and the dangers of this close relationship were evident in the development of the atomic bomb and the more recent moves toward international control. The Truman-Attlee-King statement represented a compromise between an attempted one-nation monopoly and the full sharing of secret and control. According to rumor, it was William Lyon MacKenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, who worked out the compromise formula that bridged the gap between Mr. Truman and Mr. Attlee. It is perhaps not without significance that Mr. King, who today asserts the necessity of a world government if our democratic civilization is to survive, is the grandson of that William Lyon MacKenzie who more than a century ago led an armed rebellion in protest against an intransigent British Cabinet's refusal to grant self-government to Canada. In a world desperately needing proof of a workable international system to free it from the overwhelming dread of war the North Atlantic Triangle provides more than a shred of convincing evidence.

J. KING GORDON

BRIEFER COMMENT

Villa Diplomacy

KENNETH PENDAR, author of "Adventure in Diplomacy" (Dodd, Mead $3), was in a social sense Robert Murphy's right-hand man in French North Africa. At the incredibly beautiful villa of La Saadia in Marrakesh, "one of the showplaces of the world," which had been lent to him personally by the widow of a rich American, Pendar lived in the "quasi-Oriental splendor" which, he says, "the Arabs enjoy and respect." There he was host to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and many other important persons who also enjoy and respect the gracious living that only great wealth can make possible. As a gossipy account of high life and low intrigue Pendar's book makes pleasant reading. Unwittingly, moreover, it contributes to a solution of the mystery of our war-time policies toward France. For despite its trivialities and many factual inaccuracies, the book reveals with naive frankness what Bob Murphy's boys really were up to.

Pendar believes "we were defeated diplomatically in North Africa and in our French policies generally." Although he overflows with affectionate admiration for Murphy, he also takes him to task for being too indulgent, too friendly with the wrong people, too little "tough-minded with the people who eluded, outwitted, or betrayed us." At first glance it is startling to get from this Cholly Knickerbocker of diplomacy what seems a sensible explanation for the mess we made. "The State Department," he says, "should have immediately removed Mr. Murphy and every one of his assistants, once the French were fighting as our allies in Tunisia. Our American diplomatic policy should have been carried out by a man with no personal debt to anyone. Diplomacy cannot be implemented by 'provocative agents.' Mr. Murphy and the rest of us had been bogged down in the details of the pre-landing job too long and had lost our usefulness in the bigger picture. Fresh minds and energy were needed."

This, however, is not the refreshing candor it appears to be. The trouble with Murphy, in Pendar's view, is that he did not go far and hard enough in the wrong direction. Pendar complains that "we awkwardly and grudgingly allowed De Gaulle to come to power." The "adventure in diplomacy" which failed was an effort to prevent France from falling into the hands of Frenchmen more concerned with bread and butter for the masses than with gracious living for the few. The book professes to be an attack on De Gaulle as an illiberal, fascist would-be dictator. Some of the criticism is sound, but all of it amounts to a foil for a covert attack on the French who choose to go their way to the left. Pendar laments that we have failed "to keep France in the Atlantic democratic world." Although he never once mentions it, the enemy to which he feels we have lost is not De Gaulle but French socialism.

Pendar's book, which in parts reads much like the effusions of Carlton Hayes and Patrick Hurley, is another straw showing the direction of a rising wind from the right. He wants the State Department purged of any democratic fellows who may have managed to worm their way in. He would like the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to take over control. And his notion of the diplomacy we now need is a new variety of "big-stickism," by which American ambassadors—preferably generals and admirals—"will not *force* a foreign leader" to take "advice" but will present policy "so clearly and forcefully that a foreign leader will be *persuaded*."

By the way, Pendar's "head man" in the "enchanted castle" of La Saadia, the half Syrian, half Indo-Chinese Louis, is now with Bob Murphy, thereby assuring a continuity of culinary if not of democratic policy.

PERCY WINNER

The Art of Communication

ANYONE WHO IS WILLING to be convinced that the acquiring and communicating of knowledge can set as many red corpuscles dancing as the next pursuit can, provided the knowledge is brought out into the sunshine, dust, and heat and not sequestered as a frail and sterile museum-piece, should be interested in "Pursuit of Understanding" by Esther Cloudman Dunn (Macmillan, $2.50). Miss Dunn, a professor of English at Smith College, found herself surrounded by books throughout her childhood, both at home and in school; yet neither her teachers nor her book-loving father managed to impart any awareness of the reality of the people who had written those books, of the events that had shaped them, or of the real value of the ideas they embodied. It was her Greek professor in high school who first made her appreciate "what magic is in the greatest teaching," made her realize, for instance, that the coin pictured in her Greek grammar had been fingered by people of flesh and bone, people who labored and conspired and discussed their daily affairs in the very words that looked so lifeless spread out in glossaries and tables of conjugation.

That Miss Dunn's own attitude toward teaching is zestful and human rather than merely professional is shown by the incident of the fractious boy whom she punched in the nose during her first term as a high-school English teacher. "This

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prize-fighter's triumph," she writes, "was probably the first real connection that I made with my class. . . . It showed at once that we lived in the same world, my pupils and I." Not that Miss Dunn is beating the drum for pugilistic pedagogy; in fact, she puts up a vigorous defense of the potential and often actual waywardness of students, who, being young, naturally demonstrate their vitality by "intermittent attention and submission," a mixture which she finds preferable to mere docility or slavish plodding. But the point she stresses most in her little "autobiography of an education" is that the teacher's knowledge of his subject is not enough: what counts more than anything else is communication—the ability to transplant into a student's mind, not necessarily by means of a left jab to the beak but better so than not at all, some of the teacher's own store of information and much or all of his conviction of the importance of learning.

LOUIS B. SALOMON

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

ELMER RICE produced his first play in 1914. If Miss Crothers and Owen Davis may be regarded as retired, then I cannot recall offhand any other currently practicing American dramatist whose history goes back so far, and though Mr. Rice is by no means venerable in either years or appearance he is any day now in danger of being dubbed the dean of Broadway playwrights. O'Neill was unheard of even in Provincetown when "On Trial" made a hit, and by comparison with Mr. Rice such so-called old hands as George Kaufman, Philip Barry, Maxwell Anderson, and S. N. Behrman are mere newcomers. "The Adding Machine" was the first substantial native play produced by the Theater Guild, and "Street Scene" was one of its biggest hits. If memory serves me, Mr. Rice, with a long career already behind him, renounced the theater sometime in the early thirties when the public showed a considerable lack of enthusiasm for the sociological dramas he was then determined to write, but he came bouncing back when the Playwrights' Company was organized, and the prospects seem to be that he will go merrily on for another generation or so.

All this is by way of leading up to two observations concerning "Dream Girl," his new hit at the recently rechristened Coronet Theater. One of these observations is that "Dream Girl," though a very agreeable divertissement, will probably not be remembered as one of its author's major efforts. The other concerns the fact that its greatest charm seems to be a certain fresh, youthful quality; and I says "seems" for the obvious reason that what looks like youthful freshness is no doubt in reality the effect of long-practiced skill.

Last season, in the piece called "Foolish Notion," Philip Barry over-elaborated, over-wrote, and so rather bungled a play in which much of the action was concerned not with what actually happened but with what one character or another day-dreamed as happening. Mr. Rice has adopted a somewhat similar "notion," and by keeping it simple as well as relatively unpretentious, he has achieved something which may never be more than lightly amusing but at least never makes one painfully aware that it is trying too hard to be something more.

His heroine is an attractive young lady beset by an only slightly more than average tendency to react to all situations by going off into a fantasy either triumphant or disastrous. When, for example, she listens to the radio she almost immediately sees herself confessing to Mr. Anthony, and when a professional seducer suggests a trip to Mexico she sees herself, first, bandying politenesses in impeccable Spanish with the native serenaders and then, by a swift transition, as a Sadie Thompson in flame-colored taffeta standing beneath a lamppost explaining her fate to a man from the past whom coincidence has brought face to face: "The second time it was easier to say 'yes'; the third and fourth times it was easier still . . . and after that I had to do the asking." To make things really serious she becomes ultimately not quite sure what is real and what is not, with the result that she is just about to elope to Reno with a feeble brother-in-law who has been figuring in some of her favorite dreams when a tough newspaperman shakes her rudely awake and she elopes with him instead. This ending or something like it is, I suppose, necessary to turn what is really only a series of skits into something resembling a play, but there is one respect in which it troubles me seriously. How do I know that this tough guy and his rough wooing were really real or that the real elopement really took place. The whole thing is suspiciously of a piece with some of the preceding fantasies. If Mr. Rice expects me to notice this and have my doubts, then his play is very tricky indeed. But I do not think that he does.

Publicity notices inform me that "Dream Girl" was not written with Betty Field (in private life Mrs. Rice) in mind, but my contention is that it must have been, subconsciously at least, for the role fits her to perfection, and no small part of the play's predestined success will be due to her performance. She is not only a very appealing actress but also one who helps create precisely the right atmosphere, as she did on that previous occasion when she played the heroine of Mr. Rice's "Two on an Island." Mr. Rice's farce-comedies do not strive for either the painful sophistication of the ultra smart or the frenetic action-at-all-costs which George Abbott made popular. They are, instead, cheery, fundamentally wholesome, and rather more thoroughly American than a good deal of what passes for American comedy. Miss Field manages somehow to suggest the same spirit, and for all her experience in Hollywood to seem closer to the real thing than the Hollywood version of the emancipated young business woman usually is. In this play I do not think that her fantasies are usually either quite as funny or quite as embarrassing as those imagined by Mr. Thurber in "The Private Life of Walter Mitty," but many of them are highly diverting, and "Dream Girl" is a very pleasant addition to a theatrical season which would be grateful even for plays a good deal less entertaining than this one.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THIS is my first opportunity to speak of the festival of Fauré's music with which the Department of Music of Harvard University honored the hundredth anniversary of his birth, and of the various pleasures which the occasion gave me. Not just the pleasure of hearing two beautiful and moving works—the Requiem, which I had known, and the opera "Pénélope," which was a new experience—beautifully performed by members of the Boston Symphony, the Harvard Glee Club, the Radcliffe Choral Society, and soloists under the direction of Nadia Boulanger. But also certain pleasures from the entire occasion—the way the music for all five concerts was selected; the way it was performed; and the way it was listened to. Not since London many years before had I experienced so agreeable an atmosphere at concerts—an atmosphere of quiet and interest created by people, young and old, who seemed to be present for no other reason than their desire to hear the music, and who were completely unself-conscious about it; as against the atmosphere of New York concerts, particularly the New Friends of Music concerts and the Budapest Quartet concerts at the Y. M. H. A., which is heavy and noisy with the ostentatiousness and restlessness of people who are there because it is the musical place to be and to say one has been.

I had been urged to attend the festival by a distinguished musician—one of "the true believer[s] in the genius of Fauré," as Aaron Copland put it in a New York *Times* article, who are "convinced that to hear him is to love him." This musician, long disturbed by my lack of interest in Fauré's songs and chamber music, thought I had not heard

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enough of the songs or the best of the chamber works. And so I went up to Harvard, and did hear a large number of songs, and the late chamber works—the second Piano Quintet, the second Sonata for violin and piano, the Piano Trio—which the true believers consider representative of the greatest Fauré, the products of his fully matured powers. But I found all these no more interesting than what I had heard before.

Mr. Copland would explain this very easily. "It is perfectly true," he wrote in the *Times*, "that you must listen closely if you would savor the exquisite dstinction of Fauré's harmonies or appreciate the long line of a widely spaced melodic arch. His work has little surface originality. . . . To the superficial listener he probably sounds superficial. But those aware of musical refinements cannot help but admire the transparent texture, the clarity of thought, the well-shaped proportions." I would say, on the contrary, that it does *not* take any effort on the part of the listener to perceive the exquisite harmonies and textures in one of the chamber works; but that the greatest effort discovers nothing beyond these exquisite surfaces; and that the endless progression of these surfaces may please the ear of a superficial listener (to say nothing of a composer fascinated by their craftsmanship), but it wearies the mind of the person who requires something beyond them—the something that he finds in the Requiem or in "Pénélope," each of which is also beautifully wrought, but in a very different style that is the medium of a very different and moving expressive content.

I should speak of the singing of many of the songs by Isabel French—of her musically intelligent use of a very limited voice. A young soprano, Olympia di Napoli, who was excellent in "Pénélope," also sang some of the songs effectively; but in "La Bonne Chanson" William Hain's voice was frayed in its upper range and his phrasing was dull. The chamber music was excellently performed by Melville Smith and Beveridge Webster, pianists, Ruth Posselt, violinist, and members of the Boston Symphony—Gaston Elcus and Norbert Lauga, violins, Jean Lefranc, viola, and Alfred Zighera, cello—who formed a quartet of perfectly matched players that astounded and delighted me with its refinement and beauty of sound and execution. It may be that the group would play with exactly the same sound and style in a Beethoven quartet, where I would find they were incongruous; but in Fauré it was wonderfully right.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Point of Principle

Dear Sirs: The following appears in Del Vayo's article, Clerical Offensive in Mexico, in *The Nation* of December 15: "In direct violation of the Mexican constitution, which provides that 'ministers of religion will not be permitted, either in public or in private meeting, to criticize the basic laws of the country, the authorities, or the government,' the celebration was a bitter attack on the accomplishments of the revolution."

In regard to that passage, I wish to raise with Del Vayo a point of principle.

Del Vayo implies that his opponents have committed an outrage in doing or saying anything "in direct violation of the . . . constitution." Supposing liberals everywhere refrained from opposition to, even defiance of, any law written on the statute books. Where would they get? Nowhere! In Del Vayo's view were certain people dastards around Boston back in 1776 when they had the audacity to demur about some laws 'well and truly' written by the British?

Let us at least be magnanimous enough in controversy not to accuse opponents of outrageous tactics which miraculously become quite all right when we see fit to employ them.

F. H. HOGAN

Moncton, New Brunswick, December 18

Destroyers and Nuernberg

Dear Sirs: In his book "The Riddle of the State Department" Robert Bendiner told of the opposition of certain members of the department to wise and far-seeing measures which President Roosevelt desired for the well-being of our country.

For example, on page 191 he told of the refusal of Green Hackworth to prepare a brief providing legal argument for the bases-for-destroyers deal to aid Britain in the dark days of 1940. "In justice to Hackworth," he continued, "he was prepared to state that the deal, while neither neutral nor in accord with international law, was justified by the overriding power of a sovereign state acting in self-defense."

This passage came to mind as I read the leading article on the Nürnberg trial in your issue of December 1, 1945, and it strikes me that in permitting this statement to stand as it is you are doing the same thing Bendiner charged Hackworth with doing, namely, you are putting a fetish before dire necessity.

If the bases-for-destroyers deal was a political act disguised as law, would you say that both politics and law were vitiated by our support of the British against the greatest treaty-breaker of all time?

JOHN D. WILLIAMS

Glastonbury, Conn., December 7

Unity for China

Dear Sirs: The civil-war-in-China diet that the American press insists on feeding its readers these days is a source of great unhappiness to us Chinese young people, studying and working in the United States. Not only because civil war will mean years more of unprecedented suffering for our loved ones at home, but because conflicting and unreliable reports may cost us the friendship and understanding of the American people.

We believe too much stress has been laid on the inevitability of internal strife in China and the disunity of the Chinese people. Little mention has been made of the basic and common desire of the Chinese to arrive at a quick and equitable solution of their internal problems and establish a strong and democratic government.

We feel, in reiterating the following national goals, that we are representing the heart-felt desire of all Chinese, regardless of party and faction. (1) China must have unity. A divided house cannot shoulder the burden of internal reconstruction and the responsibility of international cooperation. (2) China must be democratic. She must have a government in which the people are fully and justly represented not only in theory, but in actuality. (3) China must maintain her national sovereignty, free from the fear of foreign military aggression or economic imperialism. She must build herself up to be worthy of her place as a member of the Big Five. (4) The new government must observe the principle of people's livelihood.

To bring these goals closer to realization, we believe that the following steps are necessary: (1) Immediate cessation of hostilities between all Nationalist and Communist forces. A definite day and hour in which all forces will cease firing must be set and adhered to by both sides. (2) Open sessions of the

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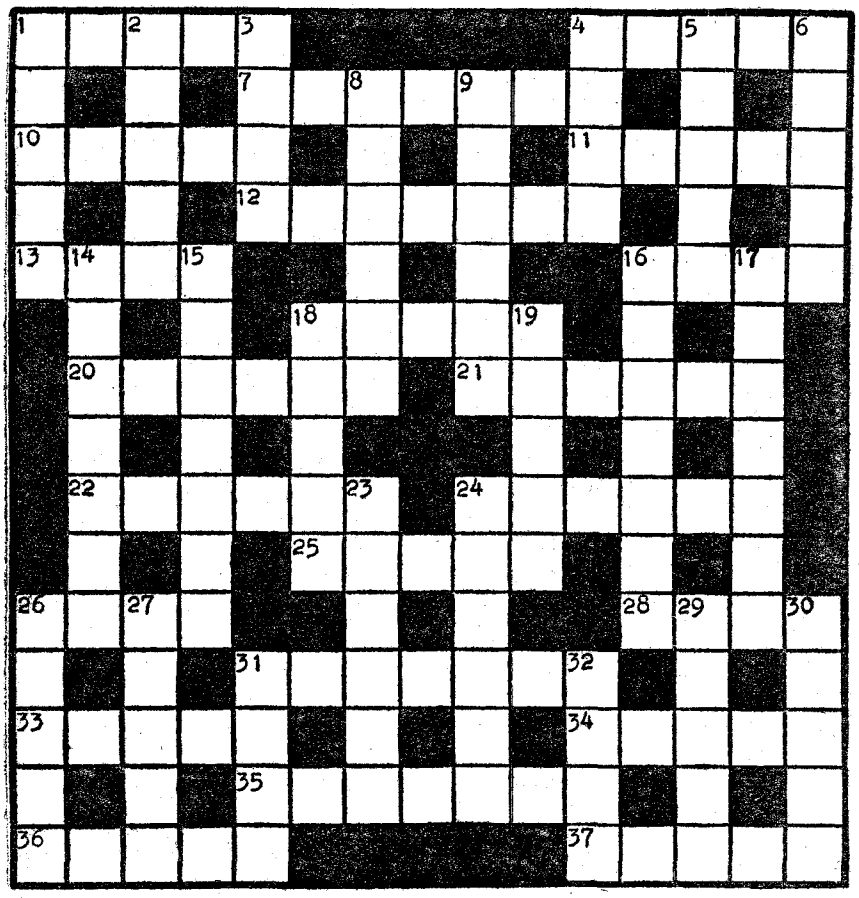
Crossword Puzzle No. 143

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 No cab has returned for the philosopher!
4 Looks like 100 to 1 on Vic
7 If it buries its head in the sand, it's probably to get at the insects
10 Very keen on beards
11 "Needs must when the devil drives." He begins to here
12 Driven from pillar to post, so to speak
13 "---- teeth, ---- eyes, ---- taste, ---- everything"
16 The best cheese, according to many
18 He'd be a deep pink if Ma were about!
20 We sing (anag.)
21 Ted is about to gain the victory
22 Glass "eyes" for eyeglasses
24 They buried the old Hun in three coffins
25 Not what you say, but how you say it
26 "Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die," was *his* motto
28 Boy gun, great fun, gun bust, boy ----!
31 Instrument that has nothing to do with a tobacco pouch
33 It's all right to drop an aitch in this Eastern country
34 Where the bee sucked, there sucked he
35 Oh, rats!
36 Word mentioned once in these clues
37 Ever yours, not ours

DOWN

1 "Smally foulies," Chaucer calls them
2 Cheat—sounds like Cousin, that!
3 Rule broken in the morn
4 Don't advise a boxer to take it on this
5 England's one poisonous snake
6 Shepherdess in *As You Like It*
8 Why is it "dry" gin—because wet gin can be painful?
9 Voltaire thought that if there were no God it would be necessary to this him
14 Son of David—remarkable for his good looks, popularity and "undutifulness" to his father
15 Jenny, for one
16 Exchanged words, or blows, perhaps
17 One of them threw away a pearl richer than all his tribe
18 She was a true friend to Dora Copperfield
19 A tit we find is a linnet
23 Presented in theatrical fashion
24 Poetic name for Britain
26 Alternative for controlling a horse
27 Character in *The Rivals* noted for his cowardice and picturesque language
29 Make one
30 For keeping accounts
31 Having nothing on
32 "O woman! in our hours of ---- Uncertain, coy, and hard to please"

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 142

ACROSS:—1 BLACKOUT; 5 BAYARD; 10 ABBEY; 11 CONFUCIUS; 12 TESTERN; 13 ARDMORE; 14 PANTRY; 15 YONKERS; 18 AVERNUS; 21 ARCITE; 24 HALFWAY; 26 TESTATE; 27 DALMATIAN; 28 INCOG; 29 POCKET; 30 POSEIDON.

DOWN:—1 BEAUTY; 2 AMBUSCADE; 3 KEY WEST; 4 UNCANNY; 6 ASUDDEN; 7 AMIGO; 8 DISPERSE; 9 UNEASY; 16 ENTRANCED; 17 WASHED UP; 19 NEWGATE; 20 STYMIE; 21 ANTONIO; 22 CASTILE; 23 BERGEN; 25 LILAC.

Political Consultative Council. All parties should be represented and given equal opportunity for voicing opinion on all subjects of national interest. The assembly must agree to abide by majority decision. (3) Carrying out of all mutual commitments and treaty agreements among the Allied powers in the Far East. In this respect, we feel the continued presence of American forces in China will tend to stabilize rather than confuse the situation. (4) Should further attempts at peaceful internal settlement fail, we strongly urge that the matter be placed before a final and impartial United Nations arbitration board. There is no use pretending that the situation in China does not have international implications. It is therefore within the province of the United Nations Organization to intervene, but we sincerely hope that this last step will not be necessary.

We hope that through the enumeration of a positive and concrete program for the settlement of the crisis in China we may be able to restore the confidence of the American public in the peaceful and democratic desires of the Chinese people.

JANET CHANG
SHELLY M. MARK
EDWIN KWOH
MAE ENG
WELLINGTON LEE

New York, November 20

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